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THREE HOMILIES BY ÆLFRIC, THE LIVES OF SAINTS GREGORY, CUTHBERT, AND MARTIN: AN EDITION

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Introduction

Ælfric: An Outline of his Life, Times and Character

Ælfric must be considered the most significant English prose stylist from the beginning of the nation until the emergence of the writer of the *Ancrene Wisse*. Alfred, Wulfstan, and the authors of the *Blickling Homilies* all take second place to him. This importance merits for his work a close and extensive analysis which has only begun among students of Old English. In this edition I hope to do justice to some small portion of his work.

At present there are three full-length studies of Ælfric's life, times, and works. These are, in order of importance: (1) Marguerite-Marie Dubois, *Ælfric: Sermonaire, Docteur et Grammairien* (Paris, 1943); (2) Caroline Louisa White, *Ælfric: A New Study of his Life and Writing* (Boston, 1898); (3) Samuel H. Gem, *An Anglo-Saxon Abbot -- A Study* (Edinburgh, 1912). Edward Dietrich's "Abt Ælfric" in vol. XXV and XXVI of Christian Wilhem Niedner's *Zeitschrift fur Historische Theologie* (Gotha, 1855-56) is a shorter study but important for its pioneering work. It is the basis for Miss White's book.

Since Ælfric was much concerned with earliest England as well as his own times, a chronological outline of the entire period is set forth for the reader's convenience.[1]

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[1] Cf. Caroline White, pp. 8-11.

449 - The English land in Britain

597 - Augustine converts Kent

664 - Council of Whitby

668 - Theodore made Archbishop of Canterbury

673 - Birth of Bede (died 742?)

789-855 - England plundered by Danes

855-897 - Danes invade England and make settlement

871 - Alfred becomes king of Wessex; born 849, dies 901

878 - Peace of Wedmore made with the Danes

901 - Edward the Elder rules, dies 925

925 - Æthelstan rules, dies 940

940 - Edmund rules, dies 946

945(?) - Dunstan made Abbot of Glastonbury

946 - Eadred rules, dies 955

952(?) - Æthelwald made Abbot of Abingdon

955 - Ælfric of Eynsham born

Edwig rules, dies 957

956 - Banishment of Dunstan

957 - Dunstan made Bishop of Worcester, then of London

959 - Edgar rules, dies 975

Dunstan made Archbishop of Canterbury

970 - Restoration of Ely Abbey

972-978 - Ælfric at Winchester

975 - Edward the Martyr rules, dies 978

979 - Æthelred the Unready rules, dies 1016

980-82 - Beginning of further Danish inroads

987 - Founding of Cernal Abbey

Ælfric resides there until 1004.

988 - Æthelgar made Archbishop of Canterbury

990 - Sigeric made Archbishop of Canterbury

990-1 - _Catholic Homilies I_ by Ælfric

991 - Battle of Maldon

992 - Adulf made Archbishop of York

De Temporibus

994 - Further Danish attacks and inroads

Catholic Homilies II

995 - Ælfric[2] made Archbishop of Canterbury

Grammar

997-999 - Renewed attacks by Danes

Glossary

995-1005 - _The Colloquium_

1003 - Wulfstan made Archbishop of York

1005 - Founding of Eynsham Abbey, Ælfric abbot

1005-1012 - _Treatise on the Old and New Testament_

1016 - Accession of Edmund Ironside

Cnut King of England, dies 1035

1020 - _Second Edition of Catholic Homilies_

1020-25 Death of Ælfric

From these outlines it is clear that Ælfric, a

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[2] Ælfric of Eynsham, our author, never became Archbishop of Canterbury nor of York. Until recently he was confused with one of the other two, Ælfric Archbishop of Canterbury or Ælfric Archbishop of York. Cf. White, pp. 88-100.

Benedictine monk, lived in troubled times but, in the isolation of his cell, was a prolific writer. Of his character we know little by direct evidence, yet his must have been a tenacious and strong personality. At a time when England was ravaged by the Danes, and Christians were generally expecting the end of the world with the approach of the year 1000, he wrote a series of homilies for the edification of monks, translated portions of the Bible for those unable to read Latin, and outlined rather extensive treatises on grammar and astronomy. He continued his labors even after his assumption of the post of abbot at Eynsham.

His works present a man who read widely, to a degree unusual for his times.[3] He does not seem to have known Greek, to whose study Theodore gave new impetus in England during the eighth and ninth centuries. But he did have an extensive knowledge of astronomy. In this he resembled Bede; both men were deeply concerned about the importance of establishing the date for Easter and thus of arranging the chronology of the church's liturgical year. The date of Easter had an importance which cannot be overestimated in a church whose cycle of worship was so carefully geared to a central feast. From the cycle of the liturgical year comes the organizational principle for both series of Ælfric's homilies. Though this awareness of chronology was known in ancient times, notably in the works of Tacitus, it took on new meaning in an age which was ticking off the years until the end of the world and the Last Judgment. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* give testimony to this feeling for time.[4]

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[3] Cf. White, pp. 71-82.

An interest in the vernacular, displayed by efforts to translate the Bible, the writing of the *Colloquium*, and the use of his mother tongue for his homilies all give evidence that Ælfric was concerned about education and helping the "læwede folc" to understand their religion and history, and the monks their Latin. This abiding interest manifests itself in all his major works and is evident in his tone, his efforts to simplify, and his clarity of exposition.

Finally, it is natural for the modern reader to look in Ælfric's writings for those common sentiments which are felt by all men at all times. He was a pious, hopeful, and earnest man. But there is much in his writing that is repugnant to the twentieth century. This cannot be overlooked. Whether it appeals to us or not, I would wish to keep Ælfric's perspective consistently in terms of the tenth century. The things which moved him most deeply do not always move us. To lift Ælfric too easily from his own times and project him into our own results in misunderstanding both ages.

It is with the hope of avoiding an appraisal of

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[4] Cf. C. W. Jones, "Time References in the *Ecclesiastical History*," in *Saints' Lives and Chronicles* (Ithaca, 1947).

Ælfric within the too-narrow confines of one point of view or the problems of another historical period that the introduction and notes are appended to this edition.

The Saint's Life: A Perspective on the Genre

One may regard the Ælfrician homilies devoted to saints' lives in one of two ways: as homilies or as biographies. In either way, they belong to distinct literary traditions. They contain elements of both. I intend to demonstrate, however, that their chief distinction is biographic. They belong to a more or less well-defined genre which by Ælfric's time was almost nine hundred years old.

By envisioning the saints' lives in the larger picture of the biographic genre, we can begin our examination of their development with the biographies of the first century A. D. Biographical studies were undoubtedly written and known in the Classical Greek period, but we need only start with the most significant and influential: Plutarch (46?-?120), Suetonius (70?-?122), and Tacitus (55?-?120). Their methods and purposes often compare rather interestingly with those of the medieval hagiographers. The first important saints' lives were written in Latin and Greek.[5] This sorting out of hereditary strains will not explain all the elements of the medieval saints' lives, but will shed considerable light on some of their main components. The early Christian writers often showed the influence of their classical reading and their works were eventually assimilated into the Germanic mould of the Anglo-Saxon hagiographers.

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[5] Greek: St. Athanasius' *Life of St. Anthony*; Latin: St. Jerome's *Life of St. Paul*, Sulpicius' *Life of St. Martin*.

Plutarch is the starting point for all serious discussion in the history of biography. Written in Greek, Plutarch's Lives are comparative studies of Great Romans and Greeks. He wrote a total of fifty lives. They are in pairs, the life of a Greek, the life of a Roman, with an essay comparing the two. In addition, there are occasional single lives.[6] Their main point, as Dryden reminds us, is not historical (I, xxviii). Personality and motivation chiefly interested Plutarch, not the political situations of the rulers. He picks on small, seemingly insignificant details to construct each life. These details invariably treat of such virtues as generosity, fair dealing, performance of duty, and general acts of "humanity." "His mind in his biographic memoirs is continually running on the Aristotelian Ethics and the high Platonic theories, which formed the religion of the educated population of his time."[7] Plutarch's concern with motivation, personality, and the moral import of men's actions is exemplified by this searching comparison of Theseus and Romulus:

> If men's calamities, again, are not to be wholly imputed to fortune, but refer themselves to differences of character, who will acquit either Theseus of rash and unreasonable anger against his son, or Romulus against his brother? Looking at motives, we more easily excuse the anger, which a stronger cause, like a severer blow, provoked. Romulus, having disagreed with this brother advisedly and deliberately on public matters, one would think could not on a sudden have been put into so great a passion; but love and jealousy and the complaints of his wife, which few men can avoid being moved by, reduced Theseus

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[6] Dryden's is still the standard translation. It has been edited by A. H. Clough (London, 1902).

[7] Dryden's preface, I, xxviii.

to commit that outrage upon his son. (I, 79-80).

No doubt Plutarch is superior to the medieval hagiographers in style, historical importance, structure, psychological insight, and ability to portray distinct personalities. But his moral concern, his hope to edify, and the arrangement of many lives in a series is highly evocative of many hagiographical projects, particularly that of Ælfric in the two series of Catholic Homilies (almost half of which are biographies) and in the Lives of the Saints.[8]

Another series of famous lives was written by Suetonius, whose Lives of the Caesars[9] is close in importance to Plutarch's work for historical source material. Unlike Plutarch's biographies, however, the lives of Suetonius are not morally oriented; they present vivid pictures of interesting, if decadent, Roman leaders. His arrangement of material is not governed by chronology but by an impressionistic feel for the effectiveness of his information. He enjoys scandalous gossip, brings into description both public and personal details, physical appearance, and much family background. His organizational principle is along thematic lines.

Normally the body of each biography consists in the record of deeds and a description of all manner of characteristics, thematically organized and forming a huge parenthesis, as it were, inclosed between chronological narratives treating the preliminary stage of a career and its closing phases. Suetonius used the scheme deliberately by preference, in full consciousness that it involved a large neglect of chronological grouping.[10]

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[8] Cf. William R. Thayer, The Art of Biography (New York, 1920), pp. 17-30.

[9] Translated by D. Nutl (London, 1800).

Suetonius' inferiority in matters of composition and style is generally recognized and need not be emphasized here.[11]

The third of the important classical biographers is Tacitus. As historian, he was more interested in chronology than the other two biographers. His Annals[12] is a Roman historiography which proceeds, as the name implies, year by year. This "annual" framework made it convenient for Tacitus to compile official data for easy consultation. But Tacitus was no mere chronicler. He used all the rhetorical devices available to the historian: ethnological digressions, geographical surveys, set battle pieces, character summaries, and characterizing speeches. His technique owed much to the Roman epic, particularly to such works as the Aeneid, which had obvious and close links to Roman historiography. Tacitus proved himself a dramatic historian by his vivid interpretation of character and situation.

His Life of Agricola is a singularly important biography. It is laudatory and systematic; it sets its subject,

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[10] Duane Reed Stuart, Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography (Berkeley, 1928), p. 185.

[11] Thayer, pp. 33-34.

[12] Translated by George G. Ramsay (London, 1904-9). The Life of Agricola is in the Works of Tacitus, trans. H. G. Bohn (London, 1854).

Tacitus' father-in-law, against the background of Britain and the Roman conquest. Agricola emerges as a moral person who filled his role as statesman without defiance or servility toward the emperor Nervus, whom he did not respect. The biography is a laudatory tribute to a great man, and Tacitus concludes:

> Let us rather adorn your memory by our admiration, by our short-lived praises, and, as far as our natures will permit, by an imitation of your example. This is truly to honor the dead; this is the piety of every near relation. I would also recommend it to the wife and daughter of this great man, to show their veneration of a husband's and a father's memory by revolving his actions and words in their breasts, and endeavoring to retain an idea of the form and features of his mind, rather than of his person (I, 388).[13]

There is one phrase which I would wish to lift from Tacitus and apply to medieval hagiography as a key to understanding its purpose. Tacitus asks that the mother and daughter of Agricola "omnia facta dictaque eius secum revolvant." This note touches the core of the hagiographers' intent.

These are the Roman biographers. Their direct influence on subsequent biography until the Renaissance was slight. But they will be useful in our development of the definition to answer the question: what is the genre of the saint's life?

Playing a transitional role between pagan and Christian biography several interesting studies appear. They are the remnants of pagan stoicism which provide a number of curious resemblances to the later fully developed biography. Chief among these and the most remarkable is the Life of Apollonius of Tyana.[14] Apollonius was a Greek Neo-Pythagorean philosopher of the first century A. D. He led the life of a desert ascetic: he ate no meat, dedicated himself to chastity, and, following the instruction of Pathagoras, kept silence for five years. According to the life by Philostratus, he performed miracles and raised a woman from the dead. He gave all his possessions to the poor and claimed that he could speak all languages. After his death, pilgrims flocked to his shrine. His life had much in common with Hindu as well as Christian asceticism.[15]

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[13] Cf. Stuart, p. 235 ff.

But the beginnings of Christian biography as we know it in Ælfric began in a different way. The earliest and most reliable accounts of Christian lives were accounts of martyrdoms, particularly that of St. Polycarp (69?-?155), Bishop of Smyrna. He was probably the disciple of St. John the Apostle and has been considered an Apostolic Father. Several of his letters are still extant.[16] The account of Polycarp's martyrdom is important because it provides us the earliest record of a Christian saint's life outside the scriptures. Shortly after Polycarp we find another work of the same type, called the *Acts of St. Justin* (written 163-167).[17]

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[14] By Philostratus, 170-245. Edited and translated by F. C. Conybeare, Loeb Classical Library (New York, 1912).

[15] Cf. Thayer, pp. 30-33; Conybeare, I, v-xv.

[16] Cf. René Aigrain, L'Hagiographie, ses sources, ses méthods, son histoire (Paris, 1953), p. 210. This life has been edited and translated by P. T. Camelot, Sources of Christianity, X, 183-275.

The form of these lives is rudimentary. They are simply bald accounts of the martyrdom, but are significant because they fit Father Delehaye's first of the five classes for historical reliability among hagiographic texts. They are what he describes as "official reports of the interrogations of the martyrs."[18] As saints' lives, they initiate the genre. However, they were not particularly influential as isolated documents. It is only when we come to the *Life of St. Anthony* by St. Athanasius that we encounter a literary work whose popularity made it the basis for many subsequent lives.[19]

This life by Athanasius, written in Greek, was widely known in Europe through a Latin translation, actually a paraphrase, by Evagrius.[20] Originally written in 360, it formed the model for many later lives.[20] Kurtz (p. 103) gives this outline of the life, emphasizing those features which had the most effect on formal qualities of later hagiography:

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[17] Justin lived about 100-165 and was martyred at Rome. For a discussion of St. Polycarp, see "La Date du Martyre de S. Polycarpe," *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXXI, 5-20.

[18] H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (New York, 1907), pp. 111-115.

[19] Cf. Aigrain, pp. 159-160; 171-172; B.P. Kurtz, "From St. Anthony to St. Guthlac: A Study in Biography," *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, vol. XII, no. 2 (Berkeley, 1926), 103-146. W. Levison, "Bede as Historian," *Bede, His Life, Times and Writings*, ed. A. H. Thompson (Oxford, 1935). C. W. Jones, *Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England* (Ithaca, 1947). Bertram Colgrave, "The Earliest Saints' Lives Written in England," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLIV (1958), 35-60. R. W. Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1964). Theodor Wolpers, *Die Englische Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters* (Tübingen, 1964).

1. The prologue
2. Youth and religious vocation of the saint
3. The virtues of the youthful novice
4. The search for solitude
5. Discipline and tranquility of desert life
6. The assault of demons
    a) They first argue subtly against the hermit's decision to lead a solitary life.
    b) They produce an abnormal imagery of lust.
    c) They attempt to intimidate him through assumption of wierd shapes.
    d) But he defeats the devils eventually, exalting in his triumph.
7. Manifestation of the power to perform miracles and speak prophecies
8. Crowds resort to the hermit
9. He delivers a long discourse
10. He delivers a valedictory and, having foretold his end, dies.

Though the formal aspects occur often, the influence of the Antonian life went further. It provided for later hagiographers the choice of details, a framework for describing events and, in numerous instances, phraseology. It was widely read and quoted, and received commendatory mention, among other places, in Augustine's Confessions.[21]

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[20] Greek life in *Pat. Graeca* XXVI; Latin version by Evagrius in *Pat. Lat.* LXXIII, 126-194. English translation of the Greek in *Ancient Christian Writers*, vol. X by Robert T. Meyer (Washington, 1950).

Another life, almost contemporary with that of St. Athanasius, but not of equal importance, is St. Jerome's Life of St. Paul the Hermit.[22] It was written in 374, coming only eighteen years after the Vita Antonii, to which it bears marked resemblance.[23] Jerome later wrote the fictional Life of St. Hilarion which was almost a replica of the Evagrian narrative, reduced in length and scope (Kurtz, p. 130). Replete with devil escapades, it merits praise as a literary work. Aigrain comments that

> Ce sont des œuvres délicieuses, la première surtout, par la vivacité et la fraîcheur d'un rare talent littéraire; quant au fond, il n'est venu à l'idée d'aucun critique sérieux que tout dans ces aventures spirituelles fût inventé, mais la mise on œuvre est d'une liberté qui ressemble beaucoup plus à l'allure du roman historique qu'à celle de l'histoire exigeante; la charme aidant, et la complicité que trouvent chez les lecteurs les conteurs de marveilles, l'influence exercée fut considerable (p. 298).

Finally, Jerome compiled a collection of great lives, as he says in the introduction, after the manner of Suetonius. In the classical mentality of Jerome, the pagan and Christian traditions fused. Through him, the combination goes on to cast a long shadow in the Middle Ages. Wolpers says of his work, to sum up both our and his treatment of Jerome,

So gibt Hieronymus einen sehr friedlichen und har-

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[21] VIII, vi, 13-14. [22] Pat. Lat. XXIII, 17-30.

[23] Cf. Wolpers, pp. 48-52.

> monisierten Bericht vom Glück des Einsiedlertums. Jede Spur von Spannung und Not fehlt. Selbst die Kreatur verehrt liebevoll Gott und die Heiligen. Es ist ein Grundton, der erst in populären Legenden des späteren Mittelalters wiederkehrt (p.51).

After Jerome, chronologically, appears the Sulpician life of St. Martin, a work which carries special import for this edition: it is the source for Ælfric's Life of Saint Martin. Kurtz dates it near to 425.[24] It was a popular and well-written work, one which Gibbon called "not unworthy of the Augustan age."[25] It comprises a complete life of Martin, written while the saint lived, followed by three letters and three dialogues, which eventually include an account of his death. Sulpicius had the advantage of being closely acquainted with the saint and his account has thus a degree of reliability. So important has the historicity been esteemed that it was the subject of an intensive scholarly debate. E.-Ch. Babut attacked and H. Delehaye defended it, each in a full-length book. The conclusions of Delehaye have been generally accepted.[26]

The Life of Martin differs from the Evagrian St. Anthony in considerable detail, though it bears its unmistakable imprint, in that it takes a bishop, not a desert mystic, as its subject. It does not dwell on the solitude, discipline, and austerity which are so characteristic of the Antonian lives.[27] The harsh asceticism of Anthony has become a rule of moderation in Martin. Structurally, there is neither a lengthy sermon nor a series of prophetic pronouncements. But Martin performs his miracles, draws his crowds, and rebukes his demons (who are, however, less virulent than Anthony's).[28] One essential element of the Antonian life, Kurtz points out, is its spiritual gradation, a step-by-step advance toward perfection. This is not true in the Sulpician life, in which Martin appears to have achieved perfection after the initial test.

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[24] Edited in Latin by Carolus Halm (Vienna, 1866) and Migne, Pat. Lat. XX, 159-222. It has been translated and edited extensively with notes, introduction, and bibliography by Bernard Peebles, Fathers of the Church (New York, 1949), vol. VII.

[25] Decline and Fall (London, 1897), Chap. 21, n. 61.

[26] Unfortunately, Babut, an impressive scholar, died in WWI before he could write a rejoinder. See his Saint Martin de Tours (Paris, 1912) and H. Delehaye, Analecta Bollandiana, 1920. For further comment, see Peebles' Introduction and Paul Monceaux, Saint Martin (Paris, 1926).

One of the most interesting aspects of Martin's life,[29] though present implicitly in the Vita Antonii, is that which sets it apart from most of the others. It is the portrait of the saint as a miles Christi. Martin's figure as soldier is made more dramatic by virtue of his military role in lay life. As a soldier of Christ, he claims, he may not fight for a worldly military commander. His fight is a spiritual encounter with the Arians (error) and the devil (evil). In this he is an important forerunner of the miles Christi easily recognized in the Ancrene Riwle, Gawain and, especially, the Faerie Queene.

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[27] Cf. Kurtz, p. 131.

[28] Cf. Chapter 26 of the Sulpician life.

[29] Cf. Wolpers, pp. 52-59.

After Sulpicius there are many lives of the saints; the significance of these lives varies. The Dialogues of Gregory the Great are important since they relate the life of St. Benedict.[30] Their spirit is largely derived from the Antonian life, though they lack most of its formal aspects. Benedict is dissatisfied with the world, withdraws into solitude, is pursued by crowds, repulses the devil's temptations to foul lust, performs miracles, and utters prophecies. He foresees his own death and is revered by a large cult afterward. The sermon is missing, but, as in the Vita Antonii, "Gregory has placed a single victory over the devil of lust as the all important step in ascending to virtue."[31]

Also to be mentioned is Felix of Croyland's Latin Life of St. Guthlac (730-740), in the Antonian tradition. Kurtz's article, "From St. Anthony to St. Guthlac: A Study in Biography" shows the development of the form from its first entry into the mainstream of English hagiography. Felix's life was the direct source for the OE poem on Guthlac. Wolpers' chapter (pp. 83-94) "Felix von Crowlands 'Vita Guthlaci' und die Formtradition des germanischen Heldenlieds und der Saga" demonstrates the interesting crossing of traditions, epic and historical, which we have noted as occurring in Tacitus. There is a tendency for the biographer or hagiographer to sway between the historic and poetic poles. The literary forms --here the epic-- supply characteristics for the biographer in his picture of the hero. It is from this union that the concept of the miles Christi came to maturity. St. Guthlac or even St. Juliana can be considered as the Germanic version of this same aspect of the spiritual hero.

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[30] Wolpers, pp. 59-70. [31] Kurtz, p. 136.

From these lives we turn to those specifically English hagiographies which continue the continental traditions. The first of these is the Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert, perhaps the earliest life of a saint extant in England.[32] It shows the usual signs of the Evagrian Anthony, with the exception of the multiple encounters with the devil. Its purpose was to edify the reader and praise the saint. Absent too is the long sermon, an aspect of the Antonian life not found in England. But there are many important additions, such as the inclusion of physical features of Northern England, few of which appear in Bede and practically none in Ælfric's version.[33] Colgrave considers the life a highly reliable document, once allowance has been made for obvious exaggeration. From it he derives helpful cultural and historical data on Northumbria.[34] Its particular importance for Ælfric will be seen in greater detail when we come to the study of sources.

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[32] Colgrave, p. 37.

[33] The line of derivation is direct: Anonymous Life -> Bede -> Ælfric.

At some place in any history of English hagiography, mention should be made of the poetic lives Guthlac A and B, Juliana, Elene, and Andreas, which even more interestingly combine elements from the Germanic epic into the saints' lives. Since they are poetic and not prose lives, and since they are abundantly treated in standard works on the history of English literature, I do not include them for analysis.

Another saint's life in Latin (we do not see an English prose life until Ælfric) is the Anonymous Life of St. Gregory.[35] It was written by a monk at Whitby about 850 and, though unknown to Bede or Ælfric,[36] was of considerable significance. It is not based on the Antonian model but is more concerned with an objective report of history. Its model is the Dialogues of Gregory. Gregory's other writings, especially the letters, comprise the sources. Its influence was especially significant on the author of the Golden Legend, notably edited by Caxton.

Bede is the most important Latin writer in Anglo-Saxon England and the singular English historian of the period.

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[34] pp. 44-45. Wolpers, pp. 70-76.

[35] Cf. C. W. Jones, Saints Lives and Chronicles (Ithaca, 1947) for discussion, translation, and bibliography.

[36] Ibid., pp. 64-67.

He is Ælfric's source for all the material on the beginning of Christianity in England, and both the lives of Cuthbert and Gregory are derived from his work.

Bede wrote two lives of Cuthbert, one in hexameters, one in prose. His materials for the life of Gregory extend through much of the Ecclesiastical History, fitted chronologically with other events surrounding the history of England. His reliability is almost as highly esteemed by modern historians as it was by Ælfric. Yet, though he was a chronicler, he often had recourse to the marvelous. How a careful historian could have permitted himself such license is the subject of several interesting discussions,[37] which point out that the marvelous events, amazing as they seem to the modern reader, are in actuality relatively few and serve a non-historical purpose, which Bede seemed instinctively to recognize. As Colgrave says, "The only causes for surprise, to the student of the ecclesiastical literature of the times, is that there are not more of them." Sir Samuel Dill (p. 395) says of the use of the miraculous in the writings of St. Gregory of Tours (equally relevant to Bede) "had he not done so, he would have done violence to his own deepest beliefs and would have given a maimed and misleading picture of his age."

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[37] Wilhelm Levison, "Bede as Historian," and Bertram Colgrave, "Bede's Miracle Stories" in Bede, His Life, Times and Writings, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Oxford, 1935); Sir Samuel Dill, Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age (London, 1926), p. 395; Aigrain, pp. 52-56; Wolpers, pp. 70-83.

From the key figure of Bede, the transition to Ælfric is easy and obvious. Though the two monks lived at opposite ends of the island, were separated by more than two hundred years (Bede 673-?742; Ælfric 955-?1020), and the poetic lives of the Cynewulf group intervened during the eighth and ninth centuries, the work of Ælfric is most closely associated with that of Bede. Both wrote on astrological and biographical matters and both shared a passionate interest in the history of their country. But what sets Ælfric apart from Bede most is his vernacular rhythmic prose, a matter which is partially attributable to the intervening epics.

Ælfric's Lives of Gregory, Cuthbert and Martin: An Analysis

This section of the introduction will attempt a formal and structural comparative analysis of Ælfric's three lives. It will consider them only in terms of their literary merit, not as historic or linguistic documents.

It takes only one reading of the three homilies to see that the biography of St. Gregory stands apart from the others in method, structure, and purpose. The purpose, generally, of Ælfric's homilies is twofold: instruction and edification. Instruction may cover history or doctrine; edification can provoke wonder or emulation. The Gregory homily instructs its readers in an aspect of history important for any nation --- its founding. Gregory and Augustine become a pair of spiritual epic heroes, and Ælfric presents their founding of the English church with relative accuracy and considerable interest.

Ælfric's life of Gregory is divided into two unequal portions, the first of which covers the life of Gregory from birth until 597, the date of Augustine's arrival at Canterbury. From that point, the homily recounts the early stages of the English church. Here Ælfric makes clear his original interest in the life of Gregory. The final portion returns to commemorate the pope's death. Missing is mention of the greatest accomplishments of Gregory's life: his influence on the chant and liturgy, his dealings with the Lombards, the growth under his direction of the papacy's civil rule, and the strengthening of the church's structure in East and West. Gregory, in effect, helped lay the foundations for the monolith of the Medieval Church. Only passing mention is given to the important writings (gedihte manega halige traht bec, line 306) which made Gregory, in company with Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose, one of the four major Latin Patristic authors. To the reader of Ælfric's homily, Gregory's most important and virtually only achievement was the founding of the English church.

The portions of the homily devoted to Gregory begin with his birth, and can be divided in this manner:

1) lines 1-40: youth
2) lines 41-116: conversion
3) lines 117-197: papacy.

The structure of the homily in no recognizable way follows the Antonian formula. There are no miracles, devils, or prophecies. All is historically conceivable. There is no harsh asceticism, though Gregory was a temperate man. Like Martin and Cuthbert, he seems to have desired a life of solitude, but like them he was drawn against his will into ecclesiastical administration.

The story of his conversion ends with the punning encounter[38] with Anglian slave boys which, in all likelihood,

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[38] See the notes for this episode.

Ælfric took as historical fact. This exchange continues the preoccupation with word play which was evidenced in the interpretations of Gregory's name, wacol.

The account of Gregory's papacy begins, rather abruptly, with a long sermon on the plague. Ælfric neglects to merge carefully the curtailed portions of his homily. Seemingly afraid to exceed his readers' patience, he abridges and apologizes constantly for length. In the Cuthbert homily he tells us: "Fela wundra wurdon geworhte ðurh ðone halgan Cuðberht · ac we wẏllað · for sceortnẏsse sume forsuwian ðẏ læs ðe ðeos racu eow to lang ðince;"(lines 116-118). About St. Martin he says, "Ne mage we awritan ealle his wundra on ðisum scortan cwẏde"(lines 273-275).

The "oratio ad plebem," shortened from an account by Gregory of Tours, represents the only edificatory-emulatory element in the homily. Curiously, it is one of the few elements of the biography which may be called Antonian.[39] But this is an element not usually found in the English hagiographies. The "oration" is a plea for patience in the face of affliction, an emphasis on other-worldliness (a theme picked up later by Innocent III's De Contemptu Mundi), and a practical plan for an elaborate prayer ritual. As such, no doubt, Ælfric felt it had an immediate appeal to and relevance for his readers suffering from the Danish invasions and nursing the sick fear of the world's imminent end. The life must have had some appeal, since it exists in whole or part in eight manuscripts, a large number for a homily in the Second Series.[40]

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[39] Anthony delivers a lengthy sermon on resisting the devil.

The Cuthbert and Martin homilies stand together by virtue of form; they are about a saint who, as a young man, is converted, undertakes an ascetic life, then is drawn into the episcopacy. He performs many miracles and wonders, draws a large following, and foretells his own death. His place of burial becomes then the center for a long-lived cult.

The appeal of Cuthbert to the English must have been at least equal to that of Gregory. Strangely enough, Augustine takes third place after these two. Cuthbert seems to have been more popular than the founder himself, yet his cult was confined to England. Unlike Martin's, his fame did not spread across the continent. To the English, Cuthbert was a hero of great spiritual magnitude. His superlative supernatural powers were acknowledged by his most important contemporaries. He foretold the death of Ecgfrith and was honored by that king's sister. The king himself, when alive, begged Cuthbert on his knees to accept the bishopric:

> þa reow se cẏning sẏlf Ecgfridus to ðam iglande • and
> Trumwine biscop mid oðrum eawfæstum werum • and hi

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[40] Judging from the surviving number of manuscripts, the First Series was better received; ten or twelve extant copies is the usual number for homilies in that set. Cf. N. R. Ker *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 512-515.

> ðone halgan swiðe halsodon · heora cneow bigdon · and
> mid tearum bædon oðþæt hi hine wepende of ðam
> westene atugon · to ðam sinoðe samod mid him · and he
> ðone had be heora hæse underfeng · (lines 290-296)

Portraits of Cuthbert are often very flattering to the saint. A manuscript of Bede's Life of Cuthbert represents a monk kissing Cuthbert's feet.[41] Another folio of the same manuscript[42] represents Æthelstan handing Cuthbert the life by Bede in a humble (though not kneeling) posture, head bowed, while the saint extends his hand to the king. The usual position of the writer offering his book to the monarch has been reversed; such a reversal of a time-honored posture could hardly escape notice.

Bede wrote two lives of Cuthbert, both more extensive than the report of Gregory's life in the Ecclesiastical History. The hexameter life is almost a thousand lines long; its existence suggests that Cuthbert was considered worthy of heroic treatment. Ælfric has the distinction of writing the first vernacular account of Cuthbert, which is also the first major account of a life to come from the south of England. Bede and the anonymous monk lived in the north, among those who had personally known Cuthbert.

The life of Cuthbert, which follows its sources more closely than the other two lives, demonstrates a greater unity and narrative continuity than either of the others. It follows this outline:

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[41] Corpus Christi Cambridge ms 39942, f. IV; see the reproduction in "Cuthbert, Saint," Catholic Encyclopedia, ed. 1963.

[42] See the reproduction in Margaret Rickert, Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages, Penguin Books (Baltimore, 1954), plate 20A.

1) lines 1-33: youth and conversion
2) lines 34-288: life of asceticism and retirement
3) lines 288-371: elevation to episcopacy
4) lines 372-393: return to seclusion, death

The conversion of the saint, not to Christianity (not a crucial issue in these biographies) but to a life of more strenuous spirituality is characteristically marked by an event of supernatural manifestation. In the life of Martin, Christ appears in a dream. In Cuthbert, a "ðrẏ wintre cild" rebukes him. (Perhaps it is the same child that asked Ambrose to put the sea in a shell or commanded Augustine to "tolle et lege.") It is an event missing in the life of Gregory, since that life seems to be governed more by history than hagiographical tradition.

The entire narrative of Cuthbert's life is crammed with miraculous events. There seems to be no fear on the author's part that the reader's credulity will be strained. The author has, in fact, passed out of the realm of the historical into the realm of edification. The reader is to emulate Cuthbert's piety and wonder at his miracles. There is little in these fabulous events to distinguish Cuthbert from any of hundreds of other saints. There are few real facts: Cuthbert lived in a monastery, practiced a form of asceticism, moved to the solitude of Lindisfarne, was recalled as bishop, returned to his solitude before death. Around these facts we see a hagiographic construct which bears many of the Antonian characteristics.

The life of Martin resembles that of Cuthbert. Ælfric has altered his sources so that, in effect, he preserves a roughly Antonian outline. Martin was not, however, a recluse nor a harsh ascetic. But he and Cuthbert manage to present distinctive images. Gregory is the apostle of England (Ælfric does not want to emphasize his learning), Cuthbert is the episcopus, and Martin though eventually a bishop, is the miles Christi. He was born of military parents (his fæder was æðelboren ærest cempa and siððan cempena ealdor; lines 6-8), he was called to service at the age of fifteen, saw duty and brought the enemy to submission (þæt hi to þæs caseres cẏne gẏrde gebugon; lines 60-61). The most singular event in his life emphasized two of the soldier's most important pieces of equipment, his mantle and his sword. These two items are preserved as his relics. Christ appeared to Martin clothed in part of that mantle and summoned Martin to his service (and wearð þa gefullod forhraðe on Criste; line 46). As the soldier of Christ, a position Martin makes explicit to the emperor Julian, he reports to Hilary. Hilary, a learned man, is most famous in the fight against the Arians, and under his guidance Martin goes to battle the heretics. That he does not succeed is a misfortune of history. He does overcome the devil, whom he also encounters in travels which resemble knight-errantry. His advance in the spiritual life was rapid, judging from the miracles attributed to him. He brought the dead to life, founded monasteries, destroyed the altars of false gods, overcame resounding flames, and defied those who would injure him. He is an Antonian hero, but one of greater variety and interest. Instead of multifarious encounters with Satan, Ælfric presents a man who traveled through the world and faced evils in more diverse (and hence more entertaining) forms. Some men would strike him with swords, others would poison him, beat him or attempt to crush him under a falling tree. He is, to speak in a relative manner, more human than Anthony. His situations are more familiar. His exploits are somewhat less fantastic. With the Sulpician life, hagiography moved a notch from the fantastic to the historical.

In his account of Martin's life, Ælfric interrupts his narrative with a subtitle, "de eius obitu," not found in his other lives. The ending of this homily is curious. The bickering of the Turonians and Poitevins distracts from the wonder and veneration which ordinarily surround the end of the saint. It seems as if Ælfric has chosen details which serve the more human side of the narrative. His readers could have been amused or scandalized at the quarrelling Frenchmen, but since they were English they were not concerned. They were certainly not amazed or edified.

These three lives, each distinct, each derived from important sources, each about historical personages, are perhaps among the most significant of the saints' lives homilies in the Second Series. The other lives from the total of forty-five in the series are:

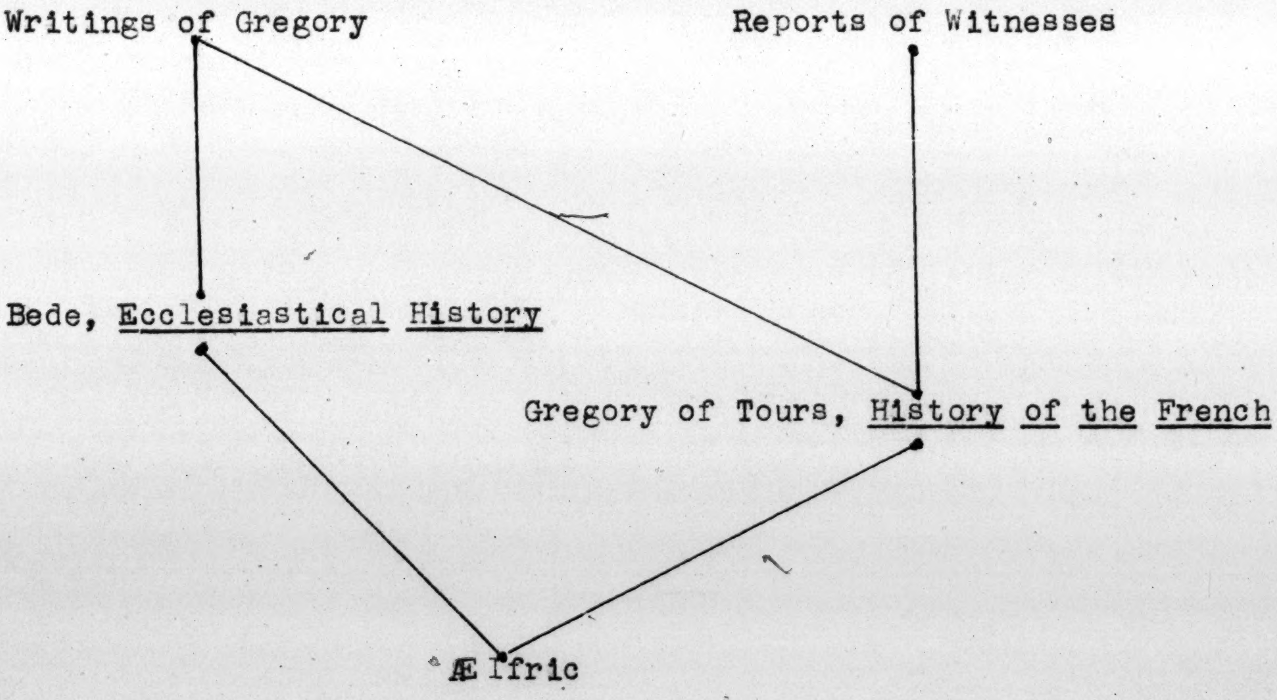
1) St. Benedict 68
2) The Apostles Philip and James
3) Saints Alexander, Eventius and Theodulus
4) On the Festival of St. Peter the Apostle
5) The Nativity of St. James the Apostle
6) The Seven Holy Sleepers
7) Of St. Mary
8) The Nativity of St. Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist
9) The Passion of the Holy Apostles Simon and Jude

Ælfric's Sources

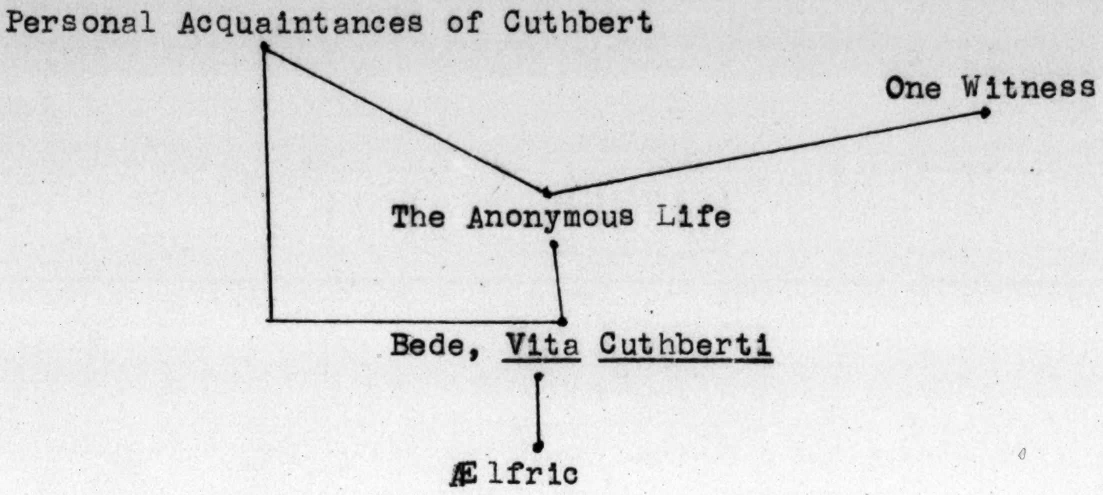
The details of source hunting for the Catholic Homilies have been outlined by Max Förster in his Inaugural Dissertation, Über Die Quellen von Ælfric's Homiliae Catholicae (Berlin, 1892).

In simple diagrammatic form, the sources of the three lives may be thus illustrated:

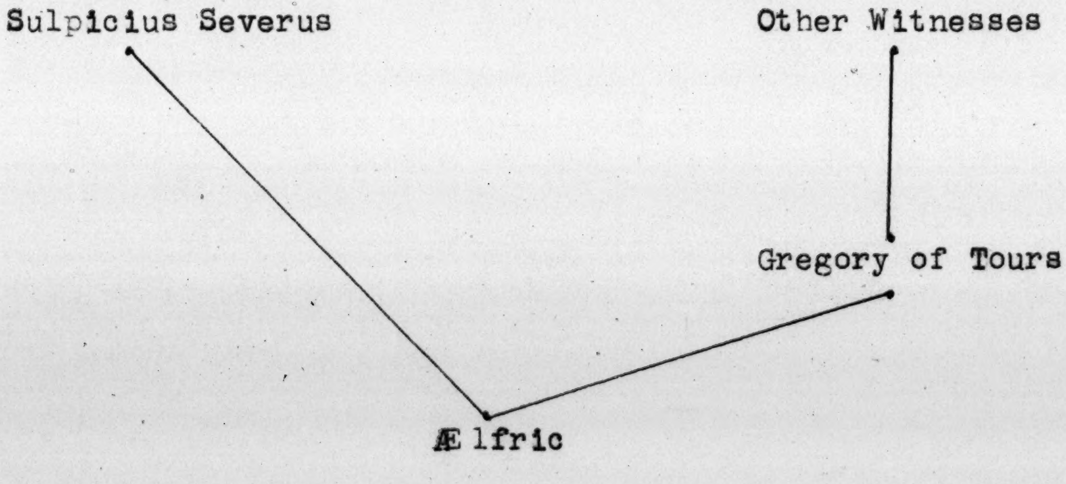
St. Gregory


Writings of Gregory
Reports of Witnesses
Bede, Ecclesiastical History
Gregory of Tours, History of the French
Ælfric

St. Cuthbert


Personal Acquaintances of Cuthbert
One Witness
The Anonymous Life
Bede, Vita Cuthberti
Ælfric

St. Martin


Sulpicius Severus
Other Witnesses
Gregory of Tours
Ælfric

The ground work for source hunting in the lives of Ælfric is simplified with Ælfric's help; he almost always states his sources in the opening passages. Of Gregory, he tells us "Manega halige bec cyðað his drohtnunge and his halige lif · and eac 'historia Anglorum' ða ðe Ælfred cýning of Ledene on Englisc awende; (lines 9-12)." Förster (pp. 34-35) itemizes the portions of Bede's Ecclesiastical History which Ælfric used:

Bk. I: ch. 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32

Bk. II: ch. 1

Of these three, the life of Gregory is most changed from the source. Nowhere does it appear in even the general outlines we find in Ælfric. Ælfric chose his material carefully to omit those details which did not pertain strictly to his purpose or would needlessly confuse the story. He avoids mention of all dates. (Unlike Ælfric, Bede considers yearly chronology an important framework.)

In Bk. I, ch. 23, Bede gives these careful dates:

> In the year of our Lord 582, Maurice, the fifty-fourth from Augustus, ascended the throne, and reigned twenty-one years. In the tenth year of his reign, Gregory, a man eminent in learning and conduct of affairs, was promoted to the Apostolic see of Rome, and presided over it thirteen years, six months, and ten days. He, being moved by divine inspiration, in the fourteenth year of the same emperor and about one hundred and fiftieth after the coming of the English to Britain, sent the servant of God, and with him diverse other monks, who feared the Lord, to preach the Word of God to the English Nation. 3

Of this information, Ælfric mentions only the length of Gregory's rule. Omitted too are the letters from Gregory to Augustine and his successors at Canterbury directing their instruction and organization of the fledgling church. These letters comprise the bulk of the omitted materials.

The chronology is somewhat altered from Bede. In his short treatment of Gregory's life, Ælfric wanted to put all events in proper time sequence. Bede recapitulates the birth and family history of Gregory in Book II, ch. 1, the last chapter he gives to Gregory. Ælfric places this information first.

Ælfric also goes to Gregory of Tours for information in three notable instances:

1) Lines 30-36, from the History of the French, is a passage which pays tribute to the pope's learning. Ælfric adopts it in this manner: "and næs forgẏttol · ac gefæstnod his lare on fæsthafelum gemẏnde ;" Though he acknowledges his learning, Ælfric omits the detailed summary of Gregory's writings which Bede includes in II, 1.

2) Lines 41-55 give details of Gregory's property given to the Church and describe his life after the conversion. One might conjecture that Ælfric, under the influence of the Antonian and Sulpician lives, felt obliged to include details of a conversion which played such a crucial part in the standard hagiographical framework.

He eode ær his gecẏrrednẏsse geond romana burh mid

> pællenum gẏrlum • and scinendum gẏmmum • and readum golde
> gefrætewod; Ac æfter his gecẏrrednẏsse he ðenode Godes
> ðearfum • he sẏlf ðearfa • mid wacum wæfelse begangen;

3) The lengthy sermon given to the people after the pope's accession, finally, is a shortened form of the "oratio ad plebem" from Gregory of Tours' account. Gregory reports that he had it from a witness. All these additions are from Bk. I, Chap. 1 of the History of the French.[43]

The question then naturally poses itself, to what extent did the Latin style of Bede or Gregory of Tours influence the English of Ælfric? The answer properly belongs to a discussion of Ælfric's prose style, but we can make some useful comparisons here. Ælfric did not translate literally from his sources but merely paraphrased. For a detailed examination, we may compare similar passages from Bede and Ælfric. Lest these comparisons be misleading, we should point out that Ælfric's use of his sources is so free that I have chosen only the closest paraphrases -- which are exceptional rather than regular.

Bede, II, 1.	Ælfric
ac vidisse inter alia	þa geseah he betwux ðam
pueros venales positos	warum cype cnihtas gesette
condidi corporis, ac	þa wæron hwites lichaman
venusti vultus, capillorum	and fægeres adwiltan menn
quoque forma egregia.	and æðellice gefexode;

The speech to the populace makes use of half the information supplied in the Historia Francorum (Pat. Lat.

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[43] Edited and translated by O. M. Dalton, 2 vols, (Oxford, 1927).

LXXI, 528-529). Ælfric omits details about the organization of the "seofonfeald laetanias," which I have condensed in the notes. In this case, he provides a very close verbal parallel with the material he does use.

Gregory of Tours	Ælfric
Oportet, frates dilectissimi, ut flagella Dei quam metuere ventura debuimus, saltem praesentia et experta timeamus. Conversionis nobis aditum dolor aperiat, et cordis nostri duritiam ipsa, quam patimur, poena dissolvat.	Mine gebroðra þa leofstan, us gedafenað þæt we Godes swingle · þe we on ær to- wearde ondrædan sceoldon þæt we huru nu andwerde and afandode ondrædan; Geopnige we sarnẏs us in- fær soðre gecẏrrednẏsse and þæt wite ðe we ðrowiað tobrece we heortan heardnẏsse;

This almost word for word translation does not continue for the length of the "oratio." It breaks off at line 52, col. 529, leaving out several scriptural quotations and isolated sentences. About twenty-two lines remain, which contain directions for the procession.

Ælfric's use of Bede for the life of Cuthbert is somewhat different. The structure of the homily follows Bede's model closely and omissions are made mainly for the sake of brevity. There are considerably fewer names of places and people,to simplify the demands on readers. (These are detailed in the notes.) Förster points out (p. 35) that "sind beide [lives of Cuthbert] von ihm benutzt, doch so dass der M [metrical life] , welches ihm seiner Knappheit wegen mehr zusagte, zur Grundlage machte, bei einer Reihe von Erzählungen aber P [prose life] folgte."

Ælfric's treatment of this source is typically free. His style is governed more by a spirit of its own rather than by Bede's Latin prose or verse. We may compare several parallel passages:[44]

Ælfric	Metrical Life	Ælfric	Prose Life
lines: 18-25	v. 63 ff.	lines:178-180	ch. 13
28-33	v. 57 ff.	208-211	ch. 18
51-53	v. 90 ff.	223-230	ch. 19
60-63	v. 182 ff.	315-320	ch. 26
86-87	v. 224	389-393	ch. 42
91-92	v. 229		
146-149	v. 336		
190-193	v. 371 ff.		
233-236	v. 439		
236-247	v. 452		
259-288	v. 496 ff.		
310	v. 646		
315-322	v. 558 ff.		
329-331	v. 691		
337-341	v. 691 ff.		
354	v. 775		

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[44] Adapted from Förster, p. 35.

From these figures it can be seen that the verse life, which reaches a length of 979 lines,[45] is considerably shortened by Ælfric. He draws equally from the various portions of the work so that he does not concentrate on one part only, as he did in Gregory's life. Also noteworthy are the length and number of interpolations from the prose life, which runs to the great length of forty-six chapters, col. 729-790 in Migne, vol. XCIV.

Following are excerpts from the metrical life. At the beginning of the biography, a child asks the youthful Cuthbert:

> Quid te, care, levi subdis per inania ludo,
> Quem deus aetherio sublimis honore sacravit
> Praeficiens populis, caeli quibus atria pandas?
> Ingenuum stadio numquid concurrere servis
> Fas erit aut vulgi antistes similabitur actis?
> Linque tuis ergo tam dissona frivola fatis
> Devotusque deo sacrum conjungere pectus (63-69).

Ælfric renders these lines as:

> To hwi underþeodst þu ðe sẏlfne þisum ydelum plegan. þu ðe eart fram Gode gehalgod mid roderlicum wurðmẏnte? Ne gedafenað biscope þæt he beo on dædum folces mannum gelic; Geswic la leof swa unðæslices plegan. and geðeod ðe to Gode ðe ðe to biscope his folces geceas þam ðu scealt heofonan rices infær geopenian; (18-25)

The following two selections both describe Cuthbert's life on the island of Lindisfarne. In the prose version I omit those parts which do not appear in Ælfric.

> Rogavit ergo afferri sibi instrumenta quibus terram exerceret, et triticum quod sereret.

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[45] Edited by Werner Jaager (Leipzig, 1935).

> Sed seminata verno tempore terra nullos usque ad medium aestatis reddidit fructus.... Allatumque hordeum dum ultra omne tempus serendi, ultra omnem spem fructificandi terrae commendaret, mox abundanter exortum fecit fructum copiosum. Qui dum maturescere coepisset, venere volucres et huic depascendo certatim insistebant. (Pat. Lat. XCIV, 759.)

Then let us look at the corresponding part of the verse life:

> Quique suis cupiens victum conquirere palmis
> Incultum pertemptat humum proscindere ferro
> Et sator edomitis anni spem credere glebis.
> Dumque seges modico de semine surgeret ampla,
> Tempus adest messis; rapidae sed forte volucres
> Flaventes praedare senis nituntur aristas. (413-418)

Then compare Ælfric's version:

> Se halga ða het him bringan sæd · wolde on ðam westene · wæstmas tilian · gif hit swa geuðe · se ælmightiga god · þæt he mid his foton · hine fedan moste; He seow ða hwæte · on beswuncenum lande · ac hit to wæstme aspringan ne moste · ne furðon mid gærse growende næs; Ða het he him bringan · bere to sæde · and ofer ælcne timan ða eorðan aseow; Hit weox ða mid wynne · and wel geripode; Ða woldon hremmas hine bereafian · æt his gedeorfum · gif hi dorston · (211-220)

It can be seen how Ælfric takes details from both and combines them to form his own narrative. Such a treatment is generally the case when the two sources overlap. But most of the narrative relies on the metrical life. "Bei andern is zwar M also Grundlage genommen, wie die wörtliche Uebereinstimmung ganzer Verse beweist, einzelne Ausdrüke aber, beschreibende Details, ja ganze Sätze sind aus P eingefügt (p. 36)."

The life of St. Martin represents a third handling of its sources. Ælfric does not, for one thing, announce his sources. Most of the homily, however, comes from the Sulpician Life of St. Martin -- one familiar to almost any of Ælfric's learned contemporaries. The treatment is a familiar one; it is shortened and unnecessary details are omitted. The final portion comes from Gregory of Tours.

The Sulpician Vita Martini consists of a collection of documents about St. Martin; it is not a unified biography like Bede's life of Cuthbert. The collection consists of a long life, written during the saint's life, three letters (to Eusebius, to Deacon Aurelius and to Bassula) and three dialogues which relate, in retrospect, other aspects of the saint's life, his death, and the activities of his followers.

Förster distinguishes four parts in Ælfric's handling of these sources (pp. 41-42). The first and longest section (lines 1-242) is a free and condensed rendition of the life of Martin with two miracles lifted from the dialogues and put into chronological sequence. Martin brings to life the son of a widow (lines 151-153), an account from the second dialogue, ch. 4, and cures a maid with oil (lines 153-155), from the third dialogue, ch. 2. Both incidents, notably, are inspired by miracles in the Gospels.

The section after, lines 243-276 (beginning Martinus se halga) consist of:

1) A vision of Martin with a fiery circlet around his head
2) The healing of a boy poisoned by an adder
3) A description of Martin's patience

4) Healing of diverse sorts:
   - a) An insane man
   - b) Animals
   - c) Woman with an issue of blood

G. H. Gerould has given the exact sources for each episode:[46]

lines 222-223 - *Vita*, ch. 20
223-231 - *Dial*. II, 13
231-242 - *Vita*, ch. 24
243-247 - *Dial*. II, 1
247-254 - *Dial*. II, 2
255-262 - *Dial*. II, 5
263-265 - *Dial*. II, 8
266-268 - *Dial*. II, 9
268-271 - *Dial*. III, 3
271-273 - *Dial*. III, 9

Ælfric then makes a break in the text, subtitles "de eius obitu" (missing in one of the three manuscripts) and relates, in the third part, the events leading to and surrounding Martin's death, which are taken from the third epistle, written to Bassula.[47]

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[46] "Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin of Tours," *JEGP*, XXIII (1925), 107. Gerould corrects Förster who lists all these events as occurring in the second dialogue.

[47] She is the mother of Sulpicius' deceased wife. For this curious relationship and the problems of dating the letter, see Peebles, p. 87.

The conflict between the citizens of Tours and Poitiers which finally closes the homily is reported from Gregory of Tours' History of the French, I, 48.

The treatment of sources in Martin's life corresponds to what we have seen in the previous two. Sulpicius was perhaps better known than Gregory of Tours or Bede was a Latin stylist.[48]

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[48] Cf. Peebles, p. 79.

Ælfric's Style

Criticism touching on Ælfric's style is plentiful but by no means complete. New examinations of his work are in progress, including several full-length book studies. The following is a partial account of what has been or is being said about Ælfric's style and upon which I draw for this analysis:

John T. Algeo, "Ælfric's 'The Forty Soldiers': An edition" (unpublished dissertation, University of Florida, 1960), pp. 29-42; Dorothy Bethurum, "The Form of Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*," *Studies in Philology*, XXIX (1932), 513-533; A. Brandeis, *Die Alliteration in Ælfric's metrischen* Homilien, (Vienna, 1897); O. Funke, "Studien zur Alliterierenden prose in der 'Altern Altenglischen homiletik,'" *Anglia*, LXXX (1956), 9-36; G. H. Gerould, "Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmic Prose" *MP*, XXII (1925), 353-96; H. Frank Heath, "The Old English Alliterative Line," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1893), pp. 375-96; Angus McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXV (1949), 109-142; Ann E. Nichols, "*Awendan*: a note on Ælfric's Vocabulary," *JEGP*, LXIII (1964), 7-13; Karl Ernst Ropers, *Zu Syntax und stilistik des pronominal gebrauchs bei Ælfric* (Kiel, 1918); Cyrl L. Smetana, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary," *Traditio*, XV (1959), 163-204.

Most critics of Ælfric's style (Cf. Needham, p. 23) point out the distinction between his use of the alliterative rhythmic style in his late prose of the *Lives of the Saints* and its occasional use in the earlier prose of the First and Second Series of the *Catholic Homilies*. Conjectural reasons for this difference vary and will come later for review.

In order to set a basis for the examination of Ælfric's alliterative prose and to attempt to determine whether it may be considered poetry, I am adapting Angus McIntosh's fivefold division of Anglo-Saxon writing style. These types he calls "clearly separable stylistic genres, between which there are important and significant rhythmical distinctions (p. 110)."

1) *The Classical Style*. This is the familiar poetry of *Beowulf* or Cædmon's *Hymn*, which obeys the rules of the several analysts such as Sievers or Pope.

2) *The Late "Debased" Old English Verse*. Of this genre, McIntosh can find only a few examples. There are some in the *Chronicles*, MSS D and E for the year 975. The half lines are genuinely half lines, but do not follow the strict rules by which classical poetry may be analyzed.

3) *The Prose of Ælfric*. At this point we pass from verse to prose, yet it is a prose rhythmically distinct from ordinary tenth century prose. It is made up of whole lines which can be divided into halves (though in Skeat's edition they are not so divided) and these halves are joined by alliteration. Yet these characteristics still do

not make the prose poetry. Many differences, to be elaborated shortly, distinguish it sharply from the verse of Beowulf.

4) The Prose of Wulfstan. This is McIntosh's major concern and largely the reason for the classification. We need only say that the prose of Wulfstan can be arranged into two-stress phrases which, however, are not joined by alliteration. The occasional alliteration that does occur merely joins the two parts of the small two stress phrases.

5) Ordinary Anglo-Saxon Prose. This is largely non-alliterative and cannot be convincingly arranged into two or four stress lines joined by occasional alliteration.

The prose of Ælfric's First and Second Series of the Catholic Homilies falls largely into the fifth group; the prose of the later Lives of the Saints falls into the third.

The controversy over Skeat's edition of the Lives in alliterative lines which resemble Beowulf is summarized by Algeo (pp. 27-31). It must be made clear, as Skeat himself has done, that his edition represents no attempt to make Ælfric a verse writer. His prose lacks a number of important elements which we find in classical verse. Neither its stress groupings nor alliteration correspond to expected patterns. The word order, use of function words and, lack of kennings make it non-poetic in more important ways.

Nor is its word order that of verse but of prose.[49]

Some light may be cast on Ælfric's use of prose by an examination of the Latin style which he and his contemporaries were reading. Gerould's thesis is that Ælfric was influenced by this Latin style as well as by the verse of the great Anglo-Saxon epics. Most critics are in sympathy with this point, though they have reservations about details of its application.[50]

Gerould quotes several examples of alliterative Latin, the most striking of which is from Abbo of Fleury.[51] Abbo was a scholar and teacher who resided at Ramsey Abbey and was killed there in 1004. Gerould does not note the fact that Ælfric was familiar with Abbo's Passio Sancti Eadmundi on which he based his life of St. Edmund.[52] The following is a quotation from the Passio.

> Sed, mirum dictu! cum illud pretiosum corpus martyris putrefactum putaretur ab diuturnum spatium transacti temporis, ita sanum et incolume repertum est, ut non dicam redintegratum et compactum corpori, sed omnino in eo nichil vulneris, nichil cicatris apparuerit.

In addition to this direct influence of alliteration from the Latin, Gerould maintains justifiably that Ælfric was also influenced by rhyming Latin prose. This rhyme, a technique almost unknown in Anglo-Saxon, Ælfric turns to alliteration. In effect the head rhyme of consonants is not far removed from the tail rhyme of vowels. Note the rhyme in this passage from Bede (*Ecc. Hist.* IV, 29):

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[49] Cf. O. Funke "Some Remarks on Late O. E. Word-Order with Special Reference to Ælfric and the Maldon Poem," English Studies, XXXVII (1956), 99-104.

[50] Cf. D. Bethurum, pp. 513-533.

[51] pp. 356-357.

[52] Needham, p. 18

> Post annum vero ipsa facta est abbatissa in regione, quae vocatur Elge: [rhyme of a] ubi constructo monasterio virginum Deo deutarum perplurium mater virgo, [rhyme of o] et exemplis vitae caelistis esse coepit et monitis [rhyme of is] .

Ælfric translates this passage into not rhymed but alliterative Anglo-Saxon in his life of St. Audrey.[53]

> -- and heo syððan on mẏnstre wunode sume twelf monað swa. and heo syððan wearð gehadod eft to abudissan on elig mynstre. ofer manega mynecena. and heo hi modorlice heold mid godum gebysnungum to þam gastlicam life.

What Ælfric was doing, obviously, was trying to reproduce the effect in English that the Latin had on his ear. He consciously avoids a Latinate style and, by making alliterative patterns, stays within the frame-work of his native verse tradition.

I have looked at random through these three homilies and found several alliterative passages as examples:

Cuthbert

1) þa gelihte se cuma and his cneow grapode
mid his halwendum handum and het hine
geniman hwætene smedeman and on meolc awẏllan
(lines 49-51)

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[53] Skeat, ed. I, 434.

2) þa mid ðam þe he his gebedu sang
ða tær þæt hors þæt ðæc of ðære cytan hrofe.
(lines 68-69)

3) þa sceawode se halga Cuthbertus on ðam snawe
gehwær hwyder se cuma siðigende ferde
ac ða ða he nane fotswaðe on ðam snawe ne geseah.
(lines 84-87)

Martin

1) Æfter ðisum gemette Martinus þone deofol
se axode ardlice hwider he siðode
sæde þæt he wolde his wiðerwinna beon
on eallum his færelde swa hwider swa he ferde.
(lines 77-79)

2) Martinus ða siððan siðode to his magum
and awende his moder of manfullum hæðenscipe
and manega hire to eacan & eac to Gode gebigde.
(lines 81-83)

There are two theories to explain the difference between early and late styles. Both theories are conjectural and neither has yet fully proved its point. Needham thinks that Ælfric was developing the alliterative style gradually. The later works consistently show its use, whereas it is less frequently found in the early works. This theory would need demonstration by extensive and representative quotations from late and early works. The above quotations were taken from within fifty lines of each other in each of ~~each other in~~ each of two the two homilies and at random. Such a test does not give much support to Needham's claim that the rhythmical style occurs in none of the homilies from the First Series and only occasionally in the Second Series (p. 23). Rather, it would seem that the homilies of the Second Series are as alliterative as the Lives of the Saints; if some homilies are more alliterative than others, then Ælfric was using the technique selectively, not developing it gradually.

This leads to a second theory, that espoused by Algeo (pp. 39-42) and, presumably, found in P. M. Cook's dissertation in progress at Oxford, The Catholic Homilies considered in Relation to the Rhetorical Theory Enunciated in St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana. The theory, simply stated, is that Ælfric's style is varied according to the rhetorical demands made by his subject matter and in conformity with the rules for this subject which are outlined by Augustine in a book which is virtually a directory of Christian rhetoric.

Augustine defines three styles: subdued, used for teaching; moderate, used to praise, blame or please; grand, used to persuade. Thus, Algeo proceeds, the early homilies are concerned with teaching. Because of this, they are in the subdued style, not in the moderate, in conformity with Augustine's recommendations. This brings the style of the homily in accord with its purpose.

The explanation is an interesting one, and I would like to see more elaborate demonstrations in its support. The fact that I could not find a satisfactory passage from the Gregory homily to exemplify the alliterative rhythmic technique makes me inclined to give further support to the thesis and sets the Gregory homily apart even more from the other two, as I have previously indicated in an analysis of its technique. Not only is it less fantastic than the others, but it takes its literal meaning more seriously. It is intended more for teaching and not praising or pleasing. Its style is accordingly more subdued, less inclined to be alliterative.

A Description of the Manuscripts

There are two important catalogues of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts on which I depend for descriptions of these manuscripts. It was with their directions that these three texts were chosen for edition on the basis of the number of MSS available and their condition. The more important and recent is N. R. Ker's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957). Ker describes and catalogues in considerable detail every known manuscript containing even Anglo-Saxon scribblings. Amid his extensive collection of data I found it simple to check my own findings in the manuscripts. The book's few errors are negligible in view of its complexity and scope. Tables of all manuscripts of the homilies from the First and Second Series of *Catholic Homilies* appear on pages 511-516. (They number thirty-five and twenty-nine respectively.)

The other catalogue is Humphrey Wanley's *Librorum Veterum Septentronalium Catalogus*, vol. II of G. Hickes' *Linguarum Veterum Septentronalium Thesaurus* (Oxford, 1705). The book's main value is that it antedates the fire of 1731 in the Cotton Library. It must be used now in conjunction with Ker since manuscript designations have changed. Ker always gives the Wanley reference. The Wanely catalogue prints excerpts from the manuscripts and provides some description and evaluation.

Some of Ælfric's manuscripts also receive commentary from K. Sisam's lengthy article "MSS Bodley 340 and 342: Ælfric's Catholic Homilies," appearing originally in RES, VII and VIII (1931-1932), and reprinted in Studies in the History of Old English Literature (Oxford, 1953), pp. 148-198.

The three homilies on Gregory, Cuthbert and Martin appear in these manuscripts:

1) Cambridge University Library Gg 3.28
2) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340, 342
3) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198
4) British Museum, Cotton Vitellius D. XVII
5) Cambridge University Library Ii I.33
6) Oxford Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, 114
7) British Museum Cotton Faustina A. X

Following is a detailed description of each.

1. Cambridge University Library Gg 3.28

This is the best and oldest of manuscripts containing the homilies of the Second Series; Sisam, Wanley, Bright, and Thorpe have all agreed on this (Sisam, p. 165). I have therefore chosen it as my base text. It has been edited by Thorpe and Bright. Ker dates it, and Sisam concurs, about the last ten years of the tenth century or the first ten of the eleventh. This puts it within the life time of Ælfric, though everyone seems certain it is not a holograph manuscript. In Ker's catalogue it is Article 15; it contains all three homilies, namely, Gregory: ff. 157^v - 160^v (Item 52 in Ker); Cuthbert: ff. 160^v - 164^v (Item 53) and Martin, ff. 234^v - 238^v (Item 84). Wanley catalogues it on p. 153. The manuscript is 275 x 218 mm. The written space on each page is about 210 - 205 x 162 mm.

The entire work is in one hand. Ker gives extensive descriptions of the orthography (pp. 20-21). Most of the manuscript is in a forward-sloping hand. *e* is high only in the ligature *ee* when combined with *t*, as *eet*. The tongue of the final *e* rises above the line. Long *s* is used only before *t*. The bow of the final *t* is sometimes curled up slightly. The mark of punctuation at the end of a sentence is a semicolon and within the sentence a point in mid position. The ink is generally dark brown. Proper names and occasionally other words are in rustic capitals or have an enlarged first letter emphasized by a dab of red. Titles in Latin are in red rustic capitals.

The manuscript once belonged to Leonard Pilkington in the sixteenth century, whose signature and press-mark are on the first page. It was given to his brother, Bishop Pilkington. Bishop Pilkington was more theologian than antiquarian, and hence was concerned with Ælfric and the Eucharistic controversy. For its connection with the Pilkington family, Sisam conjectures that the manuscript may have originated at Durham, where the Pilkingtons lived.

2. *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340, 342.*

Chronologically this manuscript appears next. It is dated by Ker (p. 361) as from the middle of the eleventh century. It contains only two of the homilies edited here, Gregory: ff. 52^r - 58^v (Article 309, Item 11); Cuthbert: ff. 58^v - 66^v (Item 12). The entire manuscript is designated by two numbers, 340, 342, which represent separate volumes. Gregory and Cuthbert are homilies of the first part, which is 315 x 220 mm. The written space is about 258 x 155 mm.

Both homilies are by the same hand, described by Ker (p. 367). It is a square Anglo-Saxon minuscule. A heavy, almost straight line inclined steeply from left to right forms the first stroke of *a* and *e*. The top of *a* is almost flat. Round *s* occurs often before *t*, when doubled and finally. There is no dot over *y*, and no high *e* ligatures. The final upward curve of *a*, *r*, *t* and the final tongue of *e* are often prolonged at a line-end to fill up space. A small number of hyphens occur. Punctuation is by semicolon, reversed semicolon and point. Titles are in rustic capitals or minuscules in the hand of the text. Initials of interlacing knot-work and beast-heads are on the first page of each volume. The first half of the manuscript is catalogued by Wanley on p. 1.

3. *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198.*

This manuscript is made up of three sections. The first was written in the early eleventh century and contains all three of these homilies: Gregory ff. 73^r - 81^r (Ker Article 48, Item 11); Cuthbert ff. 81^r - 90^r (Item 12) and Martin ff. 378^r - 385^r (Item 56). The entire book has been annotated in Latin in what Ker calls the "tremulous Worcester hand" (p. 76). The first and oldest part of the manuscript is by four scribes. The foliation is divided between them in this manner:

Scribe 1 -- ff. 1-23
Scribe 2 -- ff. 24-87, 160-201
Scribe 3 -- ff. 88-149, 202-217
Scribe 4 -- ff. 248-287

The folio pages not mentioned here are by scribe 5 of the second section. The entire section is written by scribes 5-8. Thus, the Gregory homily is by Scribe 1, who continues into the Cuthbert life. Scribe 2 begins at f. 87 of the Cuthbert life and finishes it. The Martin homily is by Scribe 7. This scribe is characterized by his clumsy high *e* ligatures. In the entire manuscript, the titles are in metallic red minuscules. It seems that the manuscript was at Worcester by the thirteenth century. Wanley catalogues it on p. 125. It measures about 271 x 187 mm. The written space is about 215 x 135 mm.

4. Cotton Vitellius D XVII.

This is Ker Article 222 and contains the Gregory homily (Item 18) in fragmentary form and the Martin homily

(Item 17) in a badly mutilated condition. It dates from the middle of the eleventh century. It was seriously damaged in the fire of 1731 and lost about 123 leaves. What remains of the Gregory homily is difficult to read, since the heat of the fire shrank the pages and faded the print. Extant leaves are disarranged throughout the manuscript. The foliation of the Martin homily, arranged in proper order, gives an indication of the disarray: ff. 58-60, 62, 61, 63. Details of the mutilation are given in the notes as they interfere with the text. Wanley, who saw the manuscript before the fire, catalogues it on p. 206. The pages are of irregular size; the largest is about 135 x 90 mm. The written space is about 130 x 80 mm. The manuscript is in three hands, the second of which has written both these homilies. Its most distinguishing characteristic is a high *e* regularly in the ligature *æ*. Titles and initials are in red.

5. Cambridge University Library Ii. I 33.

This manuscript contains only the Gregory homily, ff. 139^{r} - 144^{r} (Ker Article 18, Item 25). It is a late manuscript, from the second half of the twelfth century. It is about 220 x 158 mm. and the written space about 165 - 175 x 110 mm. The entire volume is in two hands, in the first of which the Gregory homily is written. Ker notes a number of distinguishing characteristics. *a*, *f*, *s* are usually caroline in form. The ends of descenders, except *p*, turn to the left. *d* and ð are of the same size and shape. The scribe uses a form of the nota ⁊ with a diagonal down-stroke turned up to the right at the end. Spellings with *u* for West Saxon *y* are often found, e.g. *alusednesse*, *ufele*. Hyphens slope upwards. The ink is brownish. There are red initials at the beginning of the homilies, with some elaboration, as well as red titles in the script of the text. Wanley catalogues it on p. 162.

6. *Oxford, Bodleian Hatton 113, 114*.

This manuscript dates from the third quarter of the eleventh century. It contains only the Gregory homily (Ker Article 331, Item 59) on ff. 140^r - 147^r. There is a detailed description by H. M. Bannister in C. H. Turner's *Early Worcester MSS* (1916), p. lx. The two volumes are of different sizes. Manuscript 113, which contains the life of Gregory, is 255 x 158 mm. The written space is 200 x 95 mm. Ker detects six hands, the first of which wrote the Gregory homily. Neither he nor Bannister give any distinguishing orthographic characteristics.

7. *British Museum Cotton Faustina A. X*.

This contains only the Gregory homily and Ker catalogues it as Article $154B^4$. It is very fragmentary and contains only parts of the homily, according to this edition, lines 31-35, 76-98. Of these seven manuscripts, I have not consulted this one since Ker reports that the passage from the Gregory homily appeared in "faded but, by ultra-violet light, legible ink." (p. 195)

The notes will not attempt to cope with all the details of manuscript characteristics, but will record those items which I consider pertinent or of interest. The punctuation of the homilies receives rather complete treatment in C. G. Harlow's "Punctuation in some manuscripts of Ælfric," _RES_, X (1959), 1-9. For our purposes there is a convenient summary in the first paragraph:

> Theorizing about punctuation is any man's sport and every book differs from the last, but it is, I think, generally held that the foundations are grammatical and rhetorical. In the first kind, pointing will be used to show the grammatical structure; it will be consistent and reveal its character in features like the careful bracketing, by punctuation at the beginning and end of an interject clause or phrase. In the second kind, pointing will be elocutionary, aiding the reader in oral delivery by showing the most effective places to pause; it need not be tied to the divisions of grammatical structure, and it will often guide the reader in giving the correct emphasis to words.

The Language of the Manuscripts

Most numerous of all studies on Ælfric are those on his language. There seems little point in presenting a new synthesis of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of these manuscripts. It would be more pertinent to make a comparative study in terms of variants, in view of the collations presented with the texts. Since all six manuscripts date from the eleventh or twelfth centuries and since all were written in the southern part of England in a dialect which is mostly Late West Saxon, a comparison of variants gives an interesting sectional picture of Late OE in transition.

Variants which are certainly errors or scribal blunders are relatively few. Most of the variants can be understood in terms of linguistic development, local orthographical custom or dialectal interferences. Taken together, the variants also reflect in an interesting manner the attitude of the scribe toward his work. While spelling, vocabulary and noun or verb forms may vary, the meaning is faithfully transcribed.

There is no question of trying to discern the original language of Ælfric. It is difficult to imagine that it differed much from the language of these texts. Nor can we pretend to account for all the variants since a great deal more information would be needed to discern more convincing patterns of development. Those patterns which I have identified conform well with the expected developments of

West Saxon as outlined in the standard grammars.

The manuscripts, in approximate chronology, with dates and letter designations are:

1) Cambridge University Library G g. 3.28
x/xi (G)

2) Corpus Christi Cambridge MS 198
xi^{1} / xi^{2} (C)

3) Bodleian Library. Bodley 340, 342
xi in. (B)

4) Cotton Vitellius D XVII
xi^{1} (V)

5) Bodleian Hatton 113, 114
xi med. (H)

6) Cambridge University Library I i. 33
xii^{2} (I)

I make no effort to construct a genealogy of manuscripts. There is hardly sufficient information in these homilies to afford necessary grounds. The manuscript closest in time to G is C, and it has the largest number of variants from it. I is closest to G, though the most removed in time.

The study of variants is largely the study of phonology, though morphological analysis is occasionally relevant. Aside from occasional articles on Old English Grammar, my main sources in order of importance, are: Alastair Campbell, Old English Grammar (Oxford, 1959); Joseph Wright, Old English Grammar (Oxford, 1925); Fernand Mossé, Manuel de

L'Anglais du Moyen Age, vol. I. (Paris, 1945).

Vowels

1) *ĭ - y̆*

Variants between these spellings are numerous. The reason for their confusion is both phonological and orthographic. Germanic *ĭ* remained WS *ĭ*; Germanic *ŭ* became WS *y̆* by umlaut; Germanic *ĕa* and *ĭo* became *ĭe* by umlaut which in LWS became *ĭ* or *y̆*. Thus, words which in Germanic may have had *i*, *u*, *ea* or *io* fell together in LWS with *y̆* or *ĭ*. Consequently, regardless of what phonological distinction may have existed (there is evidence that there was some) *i* and *y* are found in free variation in LWS: Cuth 7: *þises*/*þyses*; Cuth 12: *tihte*/*tyhte*; Mart 55; *wille*/*wylle*; Mart 76: *siððan*/ *syððan*; Cuth 101: *drygdon*/*drigdon*; Greg 303: *ðince*/*þynce*.

2) *y - u*

In various LWS MSS some areas show that the *y* which was mutated from *u* or *ie* became unrounded by isolative change (Campbell, § 199, 317). Wright also points out that in the combination *wyr* plus a consonant, *y* often became *u*, as in Cuth 92: *swyran*/*swuran* (§ 52). See also Cuth 96, Mart 148, 236.

3) *e - y*

There are various explanations for examples in which this relationship occurs. The simplest is for *ymbe*/*embe* in Cuth 80, 119 and Mart 254. Campbell finds various examples of unaccented *i* (or *y*) reduced to *e* and considers *embe* as an unaccented form of *ymbe* (§ 372). The variant *ylde*/*elde* in Mart 307 is more difficult to explain but may derive from the older form *ealde*. Long or short *ea* became by unlaut *ie*, later reduced to *y* or *i*.

4) *e - æ*

These variants are numerous and may be approached in two ways. Phonologically, Germanic *æ* became *e* by *i* umlaut. This umlaut failed to occur in some cases or, more likely, could have disappeared because of consonant regrouping and geminates (Campbell § 194, 328). Algeo points to the spelling of the Latin digraph *ae* which became *æ*, eventually written *e*. In Greg 2, *pape* appears for the usual *papae*. See also the note on the confusion over Greg 186, *Letanias*. Algeo concludes:

> Clerical Latin, as a continuation of Late Latin, preserved the two spellings *æ* and *e* as symbols for the same sound. In general, spellings were kept apart on historical grounds, but confusion of *æ*, *e* and *œ* was frequent. We may resonably suppose that the English scribe would have transferred his Latin spelling conventions to the writing of English, so that English *æ* and *e* were occasionally interchanged in spite of the fact that two phonemes were involved (pp. 10-11).

Thus Cuth 126: *Cuðberhtus* / *Cuðbærhtus*; Mart 15: *cempena*/*cæmpena*; Mart 75: *bendas*/*bændas*; Greg 20: *cwædon*/*cwedon*.

5) *e - a*

In the nom. and acc. plural of many nouns we find *e* instead of the usual *a*. These are usually *o* feminine nouns whose endings are:

nom.	-*a*
acc.	-*a*, -*e*
gen.	-*a*
dat.	-*um*

The nom. and acc. are derived from the Primitive Germanic endings

$$-\hat{o}z \longrightarrow a$$

$$-\bar{o}ns \longrightarrow e$$

While in most cases *a* became the acc. by analogy, in some cases the *e* survived and occasionally even affected the nom. (Cf. Campbell § 331.6, 586). Thus Greg 67: *ware*/*wara*. It is also possible that such changes are ocasionally reductions of final *a*, as in Cuth 11: *wintre*/*wintra*.

6) *e - o*

Most of these variants occur in the past tense of weak verbs in the second class. Greg 91: *generode*/*generede* provides the most common example. The usual form *o* becomes *e* by analogy with a process that occurred primarily in the plural *generodon*. There is a strong tendency for the first of two successive unaccented back vowels to be reduced to a sound orthographically represented by *e*. In the plural, *generodon* becomes *generedon*. By analogy the singular *generode* then becomes *generede* (Cf. Campbell § 385, 757). The same change occurs in Greg 135: *leofostan/leofestan*.

Other variants of *e* - *o* are less easily accounted for. In Greg 254 we find *gearowe/gearewe*. Another form of the word is *gearuwe*, though it is not found in these homilies. This may be an older form and the *u* changed to *o* in a protected unaccented position (Champbell § 373). The variant in Greg 101: *gebigdon/gebigden* seems to be merely a change from indicative to subjunctive.

7) *e - u*

The most important occurrence of this variation is in Latin loan words where Ælfric has taken proper names from a Latin source and ~~the~~ endings have been inconsistently handled by his scribes. Thus Mart 253: *Martines/Martinus*, where the Latin -*us* form is in contradiction with the gen. singular of the Old English. The same occurs in Mart 327, and in Greg 126 we find *Gregories/Gregorius*. In Cuth 104: *nytenu/nytene* it is possible that the scribe was substituting an -*e* feminine ending for the neuter -*u*, as he also may have done in Mart 239: *burhwaru/burhware*. Perhaps not by coincidence all the *e* for *u* substitutions quoted here occur in MS C and may be ascribed to regional orthographic custom. But there are not enough examples for a clear pattern.

8) *a - o*

The history of the relationship between these two sounds is vacillating. Wright says in § 59:

> Germanic *a* was probably a mid-back-wide vowel like the Germanic *Mann*. In OE it became a low-back-wide vowel before nasals like the *â* in French *pâte*, and the *a* as pronounced in many Scotch dialects in such words as *ant*, *man* and *pass* which English people often mistake for *o* especially when lengthened. In the oldest OE it was nearly always written *a*, in the ninth century it was mostly written *o*, and in late OE mostly *a* again, but in some parts of Mercia it seems to have become *o* which has been preserved in many of the Midland dialects down to the present day.

Thus we find Greg 115: *wunion*/*wunian*; Greg 158: *adrugon*/*adrugan*; Greg 125: *Forðon*/*forðan*; Cuth 67: *binnon*/*binnan*; Cuth 220: *dorston*/*dorstan*. There are many others. Most, though not all of the *a* or unusual forms occur in the possibly Mercian MS C.

In some cases, such as Cuth 144: *swicala*/*swicola* and Greg 102: *gearo*/*geara* one might suspect scribal error; the two letters are orthographically similar.

9) *a - u*

This variation cuts across all parts of speech and the only clear pattern is that *u* or the unusual form occurs in MS C. Mart 286: *geferan*/C.*geferum*; Mart 58: *healdan*/C. *healdun*; Mart 63: *gebæredan*/C.*gebæredun*; Mart 142: *wurðode*/C.*warðode*; Greg 110: *pelagium*/*pelagian*.

10) *u - o*

We have already noted a tendency for protected or preconsonantal unaccented *u* to become *o* (Campbell § 373). We find Cuth 182: *deofol*/*deoful* and Mart 263 *gearwurðode*/*gearwurðude*. Occasionally the change occurred in final position as in Mart 44: *mynstru*/*mynstro*.

Vowels and Diphtongs

1) *i - eo*

When older *eo* occurred before *hs* or *ht* it was often reduced to *i* as in Cuth 278: *forflihð*/*forfleohð* and Cuth 59: *onliht*/*onleohte*. The most common occurrence of this variant is in the pronoun *hi*/*heo*, for which no one seems able to account.

2) *y - eo*

No patterns are clear in the occurrence of this variant. The two spellings are in free variation. Cuth 230: *hleowðe*/*hlywðe*; Cuth 232: *ðry*/*ðreo*; Cuth 309: *gecneordnysse*; *gecnyrdnysse*; Mart 65: *frynd*/*freond*; Mart 306: *nydbehefe*/*neodbehefe*.

3) *i - io*

Germanic *i* broke into *io* and it is conceivable that the primitive form persisted in some areas until late WS, especially in the frequent variant *hi*/*hio* (Mart 49, 113, 301, 322, 343) and in Mart 331: *geniman*/*genioman* or Cuth 370:

ɣisum/ɣiosum.

4) e - ea

Late WS ē comes from early WS ēa, a development of Germanic au. ea became e before c, g, h, and after c, g, sc (Wright § 163). Thus Mart 19: racentēagum/ racentēgum, though it seems to occur in short syllables as well, as in Mart 228: andwerdnysse/andwear nysse and Greg 278: fela/ feala.

5) e - eo

Wright (§ 48) assigns this variation to o/a unlaut of e which took place in Kentish and Anglian but not in West Saxon. In Anglian the change occurred before all single consonants except gutterals. Thus WS fela is feola in Anglian (Mart 131). See also Mart 236: metoda/meotoda and Cuth 26: efen/eofen.

6) a - ea

Many of these variants follow the palatal sċ. When a followed this palatal, the result was a glide vowel which we find in Mart 343: ofscamede/ofsceamode and Mart 243: scan/ scean (Cf. Campbell § 179).

7) o - eo

The most important and recurring word with this variant is bisceop/biscop which appears in Cuth 3, 21, 307 and other places. The difference can most easily be attributed to the sc palatal again, which symbolizes [š] before the back vowel o. It is likely that phonologically eo formed only one sound (Cf. Quirk and Wrenn, § 18).

Consonants

1) Double Consonants

Consonants were doubled after a short syllable when loss of a vowel brought them before r or l. (Cf. Campbell § 453) Such gemination occasionally failed to occur so that these variants are found: Cuth 94: sleaccre/sleacre; Greg 230: riclice/ricclice; Greg 32: forgyttol/forgytol; Cuth 208: æddre/ædre; Greg 35: swettre/swetre. MSS C and B tend to preserve the undoubled form in keeping with their general linguistic conservatism.

Final n is doubled in a large number of cases for reasons that are not always discernable. Intervocalically it represents an earlier long vowel when doubled, as in binnon. Wright presents some long vowels even in final position (§ 258). There are many double n variants: Greg 38, 67, 72, 109, 246, 277; Mart 48, 72, 74, 272, 287, 314; Cuth 34.

2) m - n

Many of these variants occur in adjectives that replace strong for weak endings, as in Cuth 5, 113, 129: heofonan/heofonum; Cuth 14: gecorenan/gecorenum and Cuth 108: halgan/halgum. Often final m, when an element of inflexion, became n in Late OE (Wright § 284) as in Greg 265: forðan/forðam.

3) d - ð

In very early Anglo-Saxon MSS þ or ð was often written d. Many times this confused spelling was never rectified (Wright § 302). In other cases, d was crossed or ð left uncrossed by scribal error. Thus, Cuth 9: leoðlicere/leodlicere; Mart 110: gecydd/gecyð; Mart 143: sceadu/sceað; Cuth 176: wurde/wurðe.

4) d - t

This variation occurs most often in words such as Mart 148: hrædlice/hrætlice and Greg 84: synd/synt.

Loss of Letters

Variants which represent a missing letter may be either a loss in one word or an excrescence in the other. Most often the difference is a loss, usually of a vowel in medial position. Such losses occurred when disappéarance of the vowel symbol indicates syllabic /l/, /r/, /n/ (or /m/, though there are no such instances in these texts). This dropping of a vowel symbol may occur before other consonants, but not often. Thus we find Mart 188: healicre/healicere; Greg: engliscre/engliscere; Greg 71: fægeres/ fægres; Greg 117: wiðerigende/wiðrigende; Mart 11: aren/arn; Mart 34: gedælede/gedælde. In Greg 260: æðelbrihte/æþelbirihte the excrescent i probably indicates a svarbhakti vowel.

Variants with h are probably inverted spellings with an excrescent h, as Greg 10: istoria/Historia; Cuth 59: Raphael/

Raphahel and Cuth 128: heliam/eliam. Another consonant intrusion occurs in Mart 129, Greg 300: symle/symble (Campbell § 478).

These discussions account for most, though by no means all, of the variants in the three homilies. More evidence would be necessary to explain those omitted here.

The Text

It is the intention of this edition to record and present exactly the punctuation and spelling of MS G. Line lengths are indicated by a slash. All expansions are underlined, except and, which consistently appears in these texts as 7.

Variants at the bottom of each page do not include markings aside from letters; there is no indication of expansions, accents, or dots on y. When accents are included, it is to show Thorpe's differences from G. The variants do include the i-y variation, but not þ-ð except in Thorpe. In the Gregory homily, variants are also listed from Bright's edition.

The procedure of listing variants is as follows. The word in which the variation occurs is identified by line number then underlining. The MS designation is given, and the variant follows: 52) þysse: C,B. þisse; I. þeose. Omissions are marked "om." as 77) oþ: C. om. When a phrase is missing, the first and last words are given, as: 101) fyrst ... cwæð: C. om. In several special cases involving extended discussions, the reader is referred to the notes at the back. Additions are indicated next to a word from the text, as: 107) on: C. on þysum.

157v IIII Idus Martii Sancti Gregorii Pape ·
Urbis Romane inclitus /
Gregorius se hálga papa · engliscre ðeode apostol ·
on ðisum andwerdan dæge æfter / menigfealdum
gedeorfum · and halgum gecnẏrdnẏssum · Godes ríce
gesæliglice astáh; He is / rihtlice engliscre
ðeode apostol · forðan ðe he þurh his rǽd · and
sande us fram / deofles biggengum ætbræd · and to
godes geleafan gebigde; Manega halige bec / cyðað
10- his drohtnunge and his halige líf · and eac historia
anglorum ða ðe Ælfred cẏning / of Ledene on Englisc
awende · Seo bóc sprecð genoh swutelice be ðisum
halgan were; Nú / wẏlle we sum ðing scortlice eow
be him gereccan · forðan ðe seo foresæde bóc
nis eow eallum / cuð · þeah ðe heo on englisc awend sẏ;
Þes eadiga papa Gregorius wæs of æðelborenre /

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1) IIII Idus Martii: B. om. Sancti Gregorii Pape: B. In natale Sancti gregorii pape; V. De Sancto Gregorio; H. Natale Sancti gregorii Papa. 2) Urbis Romane inclitus: C,H. om. 3) engliscre: H. engliscere. 4) ðisum: B. ðysum. andwerdan: C,V. andweardum; B. undweardan; H. andweardan. menigfealdum: C,H. mænigfealdum; B. mienigfealdum. 5) gecnyrdnyssum: H. gecnyrdnysum. 6) engliscre: V,H. engliscere. 7) ræd: H. rad. 8) sande us: Th. sándeus. ætbræd: Th. ætbræd. 9) Manega: H. Manege. bec: Th. béc. 10) his drohtnunge: H. his mæran drohtnunge. historia: C,B,H. istoria. 11) ledene: B. lædene; V,H. leden. englisc: C. englise; H. englisce. 12) Seo: B. Syo. swutelice: B. swutellice; H. swotelice. ðisum: C,B. ðam; H. ðissum. 13) halgan: B. halgum. wylle: B,C. wille. we: H. we þeah. scortlice: C. sceortlice. eow: C,B. om. 14) gereccan: C. gespreccan. forðan: B. forðun. seo: B. syo. 16) þes: V. þa se. papa: C,B. wer. æðelborenre: B. æðelborenne. H. æþelre.

mægðe • and eawfæstre acenned; Romanisce witan wæron his magas; His fæder hatte / Gordianus • and Felix se eawfæsta papa wæs his fifta fæder; He wæs swa swa we cwædon / for worulde æðelboren • ac he oferstáh his æðelborennýsse mid halgum ðeawum • and mid godum / weorcum geglende; Gregorius is Grecisc nama • se sweígð on ledenum gereorde Uigilantius • / þæt is on Englisc wacolre; He wæs swiðe wacol on godes bebodum ðaða he sýlf herigendlice / leofode • and hé wacollice ýmbe manegra ðeoda þearfe hógode • and him lífes weig geswutelode; / Hé wæs fram childháde on bóclicum lárum getýd and he on ðære lare swa gesæliglice ðeah • þæt / on ealre Romana býrig næs nan his gelica geðuht; He gecneordlæhte æfter / wisra láreowa gebýsnungum • and næs forgýttol • ac gefæstnode his lare on fæsthafelum / gemýnde; He hlód ða mid þurstigum breoste ða flowendan láre

158^{r} ðe hé eft æfter / fýrste mid hunig swettre þrotan

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17) eawfæstre: C. eowfæstre. Romanisce: C. Romaniscre. 20) swa swa we cwædon: C. swa swa we ær cwædon; B. swa we ær cwedon. worulde: I. worolde. 21) he: Th. hé. 22) godum: Th. gódum. geglende: C. geglengde; B. geglengde. 23) sweig : C,B,H,I,Br. weg. childhade: C. cilchade. 29) larum: C. lare. lare: Th. láre. 30) nan: C. om. 31) He: Th. Hé. gecneordlæhte: I. cneordlæhte. wisra: Th. wísra. 32) lareowa: C. lareawa; H. lareora. gebysnungum: C. bysningum; B. bisnungum; H. gebysnunga; Th. gebisnungum. forgyttol: B,H. forgytel; C. forgetyl; Br. forgytol. 33) gefæstnode: se fæstnode. lare: Th. láre. fæsthafelum: Th. fæsthafelum. 34) hlod: I. lod. a: C,B,H. om. breoste: C,B. mode; H. broste. 35) swettre: H. swetre. þrotan: h. þrote.

þæslice bealcette; On geonglicum gearum ða ða his / geogoð æfter gecýnde woruldðing lufian sceolde• þa ongann hé hine sẏlfne to Gode geðeo/dan• and to eðele þæs upplican lifes• mid eallum gewilnungum orðian; Witodlice æfter his fæder / forðsiðe hé arærde six munuc líf on Sicilia lande• and þæt seofoðe binnon romanaburh / getimbrode• on ðam he sẏlf regollice under abbodes hæsum drohtnode; Þa seofon / mẏnstru he gelende mid his agenum• and genihtsumlice to dæghwomlicum bigleofan gegodode; / Þone ofereácan his æhta hé aspende on godes þearfum• and ealle his woruldlican æðel/borennẏsse to heofonlicum wuldre awende; He eode ær his gecẏrrednẏsse geond / Romanaburh mid pællenum gẏrlum• and scinendum gẏmmum and readum golde gefræte/wod• ac æfter his gecẏrrednẏsse he

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36) bealcette: H. bealcode. 37) geogoð: C. geoguðe; B. geogoðe. woruldðing: I. woroldðing. 38) ongann: C,B,H,I. ongan. 39) upplican: C,B,H. uplican. gewilnungum: B. gewilungum. 40) fæder: I. om. 41) six: I. syx. Sicilia: C,B. silicia; H. sicilian. 42) seofoðe: C. seofoða. binnon: H. binon. burh: C,B,H, Br. byrig. 43) abbodes: B. abbudes. 44) drohtnode: C. drohtnange. seofon: C. syfon. mynstru: C. mynstro. gelende: C,B. gelænde. 45) dæghwomlicum: H,I. dæghwamlicum. 46) gegodode: Th. gegódode. 47) woruldlican: H. om. 48) ær: H. æfter. 49) pællenum: C,B. pellenum. 50) gymmum: C,B. gimmum. 51) ac: C,B. eac.

ðenode godes ðearfum · He sẏlf ðearfa · mid wacum /
wæfelse begangen; Swa fulfremedlice · he drohtnode
on anginne his gecẏrrednẏsse / swa þæt hé mihte
ða gẏú beon geteald on fulfremedra halgena getele;
He lufode / forhæfednẏsse on mettum · and on drence ·
and wæccan on sẏndrigum gebedum; þær to
ecan / he ðrowade singallice untrumnẏssa · and swa hé
stiðlicor mid andwerdum untrumnẏssum / ofsett · wæs swá hé
60- geornfullicor þæs ecan lifes gewilnode; þa
undergeat se papa / þe on ðam timan þæt apostolice
setl gesæt · hu se eadiga gregorius on halgum
magum ðeonde / wæs · and he ða hine of ðære
munuclican drohtnunge genám · and him to gefẏlstan
gesette · / on diaconháde geendebẏrdne; þa gelámp
hit æt sumum sæle · swa swa gýt for oft deð · /
þæt englisce cýpmenn brohton heora ware to
romanabẏrig and Gregorius eode be ðære / strǽt
to ðam Engliscum mannum heora ðing sceawigende;

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52) He: H. and him. ðearfa: : I. ðearfe. 53) begangen: I,Th. befangen; B. begangen wæs. fulfremedlice: B. fullfremedlice. 55) gyu: C,H,B. iu. on: B. to. getele: H,I. getæle; C. getyle. 56) forhæfednysse: Th. forhæfednysse. drence: B,H. drynce; I. drænce. 57) wæccan: B,H. on wæccan. on: H. and on. 58) ecan: C,B,I,Th. eacan. ðrowade: B,H. ðrowode. untrumnyssa: C. untrumnysse. 59) andwerdum: C,B,H. andweardum. ofsett: C,B,H,I. ofset. wæs he: B,H,I. wæs swa he. 60) geornfullicor: C. gearnfullicor. 62) se: I. þe. 63) magum: B,H. magnum. hine: H. hine genam. ða: C,B. om. 64) munuclican: H. munuclicere. genam: H. om. gefylstan: C. gefylftan; H. gefylste; I. gefultan. 65) þa: Th. ða. 67) cypmenn: H. cyppmen; I. cypmen. ware: C. wara. 68) and: C. om. 69) sceawigende: C. ceapigende; I. sceawiengde.

Þa geseah he betwux ðam warum / cẏpecnihtas gesette þa wæron hwites lichaman · and fægeres andwlitan menn · and æðel/lice gefexode; Gregorius ða beheold þæra cnapena wlite · and befrán of hwilcere / þeode hí gebrohte wæron; Þa sæde him man þæt hí of engla lande wæron · and þæt ðære / ðeode mennisc swa wlitig wære; Eft ða Gregorius befrán hwæðer þæs landes / folc cristen wære · ðe hæðen; Him man sæde þæt hí hæðene wæron; Gregorius / ða of innweardre heortan langsume siccetunge teah · and cwæð; Wálawá þæt swa fægeres / híwes menn sindon ðam sweartan deofle underðeodde; Eft hé axode hu ðære / ðeode nama wære · þe hí of-comon; Him wæs geandwẏrd · þæt hí angle genemnode / wæron; þa cwæð he · Rihtlice hí sind Angle gehátene · forðan ðe hí engla wlite / habbað · and swilcum gedafenað þæt hí on heofonum engla geferan

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70) cype: C. cepe. cnihtas: I. cnihtes. 71) fægeres: H. fægres. 72) menn: C. mæn. æðellice: C. æðelice. gefexode: C,B,H,I. gefeaxode. 73) þæra: B. þara. cnapena: C. cnapana. hwilcere: B,H. hwylcere. 74) hi gebrohte wæron: I. hi wæron gebrohte. sæde: I. sædon. 76) mennisc: H. menisc. 77) þæs: I. ðes. landes: Th. lándes. 78) sæde: Th. sǽde.. 79) innweardre: C,B,H. inneweardre; I inweardre. 80) þæt: C. þa þæt. menn: I. men. 81) sindon: B,H. syndon; I. sundon. sweartan: C. sweortan. Eft...axode: H. Eft þa gregorius befran. 83) geandwyrd: I. geandwerd. Angle: B. engle. genemnode: C,B. om. H. genemede. 84) sind: B. synt; H. syndon; I. synd. Angle: B. engle. 85) hi: C. heo. habbað: B. hæbbað; I. habað.

158^{v} beon; Gẏt ða / Gregorius befrán hú ðære scire nama wære • þe ða cnapan of alædde wæron; / Him man sǽde • þæt ða scírmen wæron dere gehatene; Gregorius andwyrde Wel hi / sind dere gehatene forðan ðe hi sind fram graman generode • and to Cristes mild/heortnẏsse gecẏgede; Gyt ða he befrán • Hu is ðære leode cẏning gehaten? Him / wæs geandswarod þæt se cẏning Ælle geháten wære; Hwæt ða Gregorius gemenode / mid his wordum to ðam naman • ~~and cwæð~~: Hit gedafenað þæt Alleluia sẏ gesungen on ðam / lande • to lofe þæs ælmihtigan scẏppendes; Gregorius ða sona eode to ðam / papan þæs apostolican setles • and hine bæd þæt he Angelcẏnne sume láreowas asende • / ðe hí to Criste gebigdon • and cwæð þæt hé sẏlf gearo wære • þæt weorc to gefremmenne mid Godes

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87) scire: C. om. Th. scíre. 89) scirmen: B,H. scirmenn. gehatene: Th. gehátene. 90) sind: C,I,H. synd; B. synt. 91) forðan: H. forþam sind: C,B. synt; H,I. synd. generode: C,B. generede. 92) mildheortnysse: H,I. mildheortnesse. gecygede: C,B,I. gecigede. Gyt: C. gyt. 93) leode: C. þeode; H. scire. cyning: C. kyning. 94) geandswarod: C,B. geandwyrd. se: I. ðe. Ælle: I. Alle. 95) gemenode: I. gamenode. 96) cwæð: C,B. and cwæð: 97) sy: C,B. si. ðam: I. þa lande: C,B. iglande. þæs: C,B. ðam. 98) scyppendes: B. scyppende. sona: C,B,H. om. 100) He: C,B. he to. 101) gebigdon: C,B,Br. gebigden. 102) gearo: C,B. geara; H. geare. gefremmenne: B. gefremmanne; I. gefremenne. mid Godes fultume: H. om.

fultume gif hit ðam papan swa gelicode; Þa ne mihte se papa þæt geðafian þeah / ðe hé eall wolde . forðan ðe ða romaniscan ceaster gewaran noldon geðafian þæt / swa getogen mann and swa geðungen lareow þa burh eallunge forlete . and swa fẏrlen / wræcsið genáme . Æfter ðisum gelamp þæt micel manncwealm becom ofer ðære / romaniscan leode .
110- and ærest ðone papan Pelagium gestód . and buton ẏldinge / adẏdde . Witodlice æfter ðæs papan geendunge . swa micel cwealm wearð þæs / folces . þæt gehwær stodon aweste hús geond þa burh . buton bugigendum; Þa ne / mihte swa ðeah seo Romana burh buton papan wunian . ac eal folc ðone / eadigan Gregorium to ðære geðincðe anmodlice geceas . þeah ðe he mid eallum / mægne wiðerigende wære; Gregorius ða asende ænne pistol to ðam casere / Mauricium se wæs his gefædera . and hine halsode

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104) ðe: C,B. om. 105) forðan: C. forðam. 106) noldon: C. noldan. mann: C. man. 107) lareow: Th. láreow. eallunge: B. eallunga. 108) fyrlen: H. fyrlene. wræcsið: I. wrecsið. gelamp: Th. gelámp. 109) micel: H. mycel. mann: Th. mann. becom: Br. become. ofer: C,B. om. Romaniscan: H. romaniscre. 110) rest: rest. Pelagium: C. Pelaiam; B. Pelaium. 111) ylding: B,I. yldinge; H. yldinge hine. 112) micel: H. mycel. wearð: H. gewearð. þæs: þas. 113) aweste: C. hus aweste. 114) bugigendum: C. bugiendum; B. buigendum. Romana: C,B. Romanisce. 115) burh: C. om. wunian: C. wunion; eal: C,B,H,I. eall. 116) geðincðe: C,B,Br. geðingðe. ahmodlice: Th. ánmodlice. 117) ðe: C. om. mægne: H. mægnum; C. mægene; wiðerigende: C. wiðrigende. 118) asende: H. sende. ðam: C. ðan. casere: B. Kasere.

and micclum hád. þæt he næfre ðam / folce ne geðafode. þæt he mid þæs wurðmýntes wuldre geuferod wære . forðan ðe hé / ondred þæt he ðurh ðonne micclan hád on woruldlicum wuldre þe he ær awearp æt / sumum sæle bepæht wurde; Ac ðæs caseres heah gerefa Germanus gelæhte ðone / pistol æt Gregories ærendracan . and hine totær . and siððan cýdde þam casere þæt þæt / folc Gregorium to papan gecoren hæfde; Mauricius ða se casere þæs gode ðan/code . and hine gehadian het; Hwæt ða Gregorius fleames cepte . and on dýmhófon / ætlutode . ac hine man gelæhte . and teah to Petres cýrcan . þæt he ðær to papan / gehalgod wurde; Gregorius ða ær his hadunge . þæt Romanisce folc forðam on/sigendum cwealme . ðisum wordum to bereowsunge tihte; Mine gebroðra þa / leofostan ús gedafenað þæt we godes swingle þe we on ær

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121) wurðmyntes: C. wurldlicum. 122) ðonne: B,H. þone. 123) woruldlicum: I. woroldlicum. ær: Th. ǽr. awearp: I. a earp 124) sumum: C. sumon. caseres: B. kaseres. 125) gerefa: gereva. æt Gregories rendracan: H. om. 126) Gregories: B. Gregorius. 127) siððan: C,B,H. syððan. þæt: H. þæt eall þæt. 128) ða: C,B. om. Casere: C. case. 129) þæs: C. þær. 130) dymhofon: C,H. dimhofon; B. dimhofan. 132) cyrcan: C. cyrican; B. cirican. 133) wurde: I. wurð. 134) onsigendum: C. onsittendum. ðisum: C. B. H. þysum. to: H. hi to. 135) bereowsunge: C,B,H,I. behreowsunge. tihte: B. tyhte. leofostan: C,B,I. leofestan; H. leofoston.

towearde ondrædan / sceoldon • þæt we huru nú • andwerde and afándode ondrædan; Geopenige ure / sarnẏs ús infær soðre gecẏrrednẏsse • and þæt wite ðe we ðrowiað tobrece ure heor/tan heardnẏsse; Efne nu ðis folc is mid swurde þæs heofonlican graman / ofslegen • and gehwilce ænlipige sind mid færlicum slihte aweste; Ne seo adl ðam / deaðe ne forestæpð • ac ge geseoð þæt se sẏlfa deað þære ádle ẏldinge forhradað; / Se geslagena bið mid deaðe gegripen • ærðan ðe he to heofungum soðre behreowsunge / gecyrran mæge; Hogiað forði • hwilc se becume ætforan gesihðe þæs strecan / deman • seðe ne mæg þæt yfel bewépan ðe hé gefremode; Gehwilce eorðbugigende / sind ætbrodene • and heora hus standað aweste; Fæderas and moddru bestandað / heora bearna líc • and heora ẏrfenuman him sylfum to forwẏrde forestæppað ;/ Uton eornostlice fleon to heofunge soðre dǽdbote • þa while ðe moton •

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137) ondrædan: C,H. ondredon. sceoldon ... ondrædan: C. om. 138) andwerde: B,H. andwearde. ondrædan: B. ondredan. ure sarnys us infær: H. us ure sarnys infær. 139) sarnys: C. sarnyss: I. sarnus. and ... heardnysse: C,B. om. 142) ofslegen: C,B. ofslægen; H. ofslagen. sind: B,H. synd. 143) slihte: H. slyhtum; I. slehte. adl: Th. ádl. 144) sylfa: H. ylca. yldinge: H. om. forhrada : H. forradaþ. 146) gegripen: C,B. forgripen. 148) hwilc: H. hwylc. gesihðe: H. gesyhðe. 149) deman: Th. déman. gefremode: C. gefremede. 150) Gehwilce: H. Gehwylce. eorðbugigende: C,B. eorðbugiende. sind: B. synt; H,I. synd. 151) standað: I. standeð. moddru: C,B, Br. modru. 152) and: C,B, ac. Him: H. heom. ðe: B,H,I,Th. ðe we.

ærðan / þe se færlica slege ús astrecce; Uton
gemunan swa hwæt swa we dweligende / agẏlton and
uton mid wope gewitnian · þæt þæt we mánfullice
adrugon; Uton forhradian Godes ansẏne on âdetnẏsse
swa swa se witega us mánað: Uton / ahebban ure heortan
160- mid handum to gode · þæt is þæt we sceolon
ða gecnẏrdnẏsse / ure bene mid geearnunge gódes
weorces uparæran; He forgifð truwan ure / forhtunge
seðe þurh his witegan clẏpað · Nẏlle ic þæs sẏnfullan
deað · ac / ic wille þæt he gecẏrre · and lẏbbe; Ne
geortruwige nan man hine sẏlfne for his / sẏnna
micelnẏsse · witodlice ða ealdan gẏltas niniueiscre
ðeode · ðreora daga / bereowsung adilegode · and se
gecẏrreda sceaða on his deaðes cwẏde · þæs ecan
lifes / mede geearnode; Uton awendan ure heortan
170- hrædlice bið se dema to urum benum gebíged gif we
fram urum ðwẏrnẏssum beoð gerihtlæhte; Uton

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156) ærðan: Th. ǽrðan. Uton ... adrugon: I. om. 157) we: B. om. 157) adrugon: B. adrugan. 161) geearnunge: C. earnunge. 162) forgif: H. forgyf. 163) Nylle: C,B,H,I. nelle. þæs: C. ðes. 164) wille: I. wylle. lybbe: H. libbe. 165) geortruwige: I. geortruwie. nan: Th. nán. man: B. mann. 166) micelnysse: H. mycelnysse. gyltas: B. leahtras. niniueiscre: niniueisce. 167) daga: C. daga fæce. bereowsung: C,H,I: behreowsunge. adilegode: B. adilgode; H. adyligode. 168) gecyrreda: B,H. gecyrrede. cwyde: B,C. cwide. 169) beearnode: H. gearnode. awendan: H. awendon; C. awændan. heortan: H. heortan to gode; B. heorhtan. 170) hrædlice: Br. hradlice. bið: H. byð. dema: Th. déma. to urum benum gebiged: C,B. gebiged to urum benum. benum: Th. om. gif: H. gyf.

stan/dan mid gemaglicum wopum ongean ðam onsigendum
swurde • swa miccles domes; Soðlice gemágnẏs is
þam soðan déman gecweme • þeah ðe heo mannum
unðancwurðe / sy; forðan ðe se arfæsta • and se mildheorta
god wile þæt we mid gemáglicum benum / his mildheortnẏsse
ofgán • and hé nele swa micclum swa we
geearniað ús geẏrsian; / Be ðisum hé cwæð þurh
his witegan; Clẏpa me on dæg ge ðinre gedrefednẏsse •
180- and ic ðe / ahredde and ðu mærsast me; God sẏlf
is his gewita • þæt he miltsian wille him to /
clypigendum • seðe mánað þæt we him to clẏpian
scolon; Forði mine gebroðra / þa leofostan • uton
gecuman on ðam feorðan dæge þẏsre wucan on
ærne merigen • / and mid estfullum mode and tearum
singan seofonfealde laetanias • þæt se streca déma /
us géarige • þonne hé gesihð þæt we sẏlfe ure

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172) gemaglicum: G,H,I. gemahlicum. wopun: B,H.Th. wopum.
173) miccles: I. micles. 174) gemagnys: G,H. gemahnys;
Th. gemægnys. 174) soðan: B. soðum. deman: Th. déman.
175) unðancwurðe: H. unðancwyrðe. 176) gemaglicum:
B,H. gemahlicum. 177) micclum: I. miclum. 178) geearniað:
I. geearnigað. geyrsian: I geyrsigan. ðisum: ðysum.
179) gedrefednysse: C. gefremednysse. 180) ic ðe ahredde:
H. ic wille ðe ahredden. mærsast: C,B. mærsost. 181) his:
C,B. om. gewita: B. gewite. þæt: I. y. wille: H,Th. wile.
miltsian: B. mildsian. 182) clypigendum: B,H,I. clypiendum:
183) Forðy: B,H,I,Th. Forði. leofostan: B.H. Leofestan.
184) dæge: C. ðæge. þysre: C,B,I. þyssere; H. þissere.
wucan: C. wucon. 185) merigen: I. morgen. 186) singan:
I. singon. laetanias: C,B,H,I,Br. letanias. dema: Th. déma.
187) sylfe: H. sylf. þonne: B. gif.

gẏltas wrecað; Eornostlice ða ða micel / menigu
ægðer ge preosthádes ge munuchádes menn • and
190- þæt læwede folc æfter ðæs eadi/gan gregories
hæse on þone wodnesdæg to ðam seofonfealdum
letanium gecomon • / to ðam swiðe awedde se foresæda
cwealm • þæt hundeahtatig manna on ðære / anre tide
feallende of life gewiton • ða hwile þe þæt
folc ða letanias / sungon; Ac se halga sacerd ne geswác
þæt folc to mánigenne þæt hí ðære bene ne geswicon •
oð þæt Godes milt/sung þone reðan cwealm gestilde;
Hwæt ða Gregorius siððan he papan hád under/feng
gemunde hwæt hé gefẏrn Angelcẏnne gemẏnte • and
200- ðærrihte þæt luftẏme weorc / gefremode; He na to
ðæs hwón ne mihte þone romaniscan biscop stól
eallunge for/lætan • ac hé asende oðre bẏdelas
geðungene godes ðeowan to ðẏsum íglande • and
he / sẏlf micclum mid his benum and tihtingum fẏlste

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188) ða: C. om. micel: H. seo miccle. menigu: C,B,I. meniu. 189) munuchades: B. munchades. menn: C,I. men. 190) Gregories: C,B. Gregorius. 191) ðam: H. þon. seofonfealdum: I. seofonfealdan; C. seofanfealdan. 192) gecomon: C,B,I. comon. swiðe: H. swyðe. foresæda: C. foresæde. 193) anre: Th. ánre. 195) sungon: H.C,sang; 198) siððan: C,B,H. syððan; I syðan. 199) Angelcynne: Th. Ængelcynne. 200) na to ðæs: C,B,H. nates.. 201) Romaniscan; C,B. Romaniscne. Biscop: B,H,I. bisceop. stol: Th. stól. 202) forlætan: H. forlæton. bydelas: H. ærendracan. 203) godes: I. godas; ðeowan: H. þeowas. ðysum: C,H,I. þisum. 204) micclum: I. miclum. benum: C. micclum benum. tihtingum: C,B. getihtingum. fylste: H. sylfe.

þæt ðæra bẏdela bodung forðgenge · and gode / wæstmbære wurde; þæra bẏdela naman sind þus gecigede: Augustinus · Mellitus · / Laurentius · Petrus · Iohannes · Iustus; þas láreowas asende se eadiga papa / Gregorius mid manegum oðrum munecum to Angelcẏnne · and hi ðisum wordum to ðære fare / tihte; Ne beo ge afẏrhte ðurh geswince þæs langsuman færeldes · oððe þurh yfelra / manna ẏmbe spræce · ac mid ealre ánrænẏsse and wẏlme þære soð an lufe / þas ongunnenan ðing þurh Godes fultum gefremmað; And wite ge þæt eower med on / ðam ecan edleane swa miccle máre bið · swa micclum swa ge máre for godes willan swincað; Gehyrsumiað eadmodlice on eallum ðingum Augustine · þone ðe we eow to ealdre ge/setton · hit fremað eowrum sawlum swa hwǽt swa ge be his mẏnegunge gefẏllað; / Se Ælmihtiga God þurh his gife eow

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205) Bydela: H. Ærendracena. bodung: H,I. bodunge; Th. bondung. forðgenge: C. forðgange. 206) bydela: B. bydele; H. Ærendracena. 207) sind: C,B,H,I. synd. 209) papa: C,B. om. 210) manegum: H. manigum. 211) ðisum: B,I. ðysum. wordum: C. worde. ðære: B. ðisre. tihte: B. tyhte. 214) ongunnenan: B. ongennenum. 215) fultum: H. fultume. 216) med: Th. méd. ecan: H,I. ecum. miccle: C,B,I. micele. 217) micclum: I. miclum. mare: B. maran; 218) eadmodlice: Th. eadmódlice. 219) we: B. þe. gesetton: B. geset habbað.

gescẏlde • and geunne me þæt ic mote eoweres geswinces /
wæstm on ðam ecan eðele geseon • swa þæt ic beo
gemet samod on blisse eoweres edleanes • Ðeah ðe
ic mid eow swincan ne mæge • forðon ðe ic wille
swincan; Augustinus ða mid his geferum •/ þæt
sind gerehte feowertig wera • ferde be gregories
hæse oðþæt hí to ðisum iglande gesund/fullice
becomon; On ðam dagum rixode Æþelbẏrht
230- cẏning on Cantwarebẏrig ríclice •/ and his rice wæs
astreht fram ðære micclan éa humbre • oð
suð sæ; Augustinus hæfde / genumen wealhstodas
of francena rice • swa swa Gregorius him bebead
and hé ðurh ðæra / wealhstoda muð þam cẏninge
and his leode godes word bobade • hu se mild-
heorta hæ/lend mid his agenre ðrowunge þẏsne
160^{r} scẏldigan middaneard alẏsde • and geleaffullum / mannum
heofonan ríces infær geopenode; Þa andwẏrde
se cẏning Æðelbriht Augustine •/ and cwæð þæt

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222) gescylde: I. gesylde. ic: C. he. eoweres: B,H,I. eoweres. 223) eðele: H. edleane. 224) gemet: C. gemett. eoweres: C,B,H. eowres. ðe: C,B. om. 225) mæge: I. mage. forðon: C,H,I. forðan. ic: I. om. 226) Augustinus: C,H. agustinus. 227) sind: C,B,I. synd. wera: B. wera þæt. ferde: H. þe ferdon. gregories: B. gregorius. ferde: C. fyrdan. 228) hi ... becomon: H. hi becomon to ðisum iglande gesundfullice. ðisum: B. ðysum. 229) Æþelbyrht: B,I. Æðelbriht; H. þelbyriht. 230) Cantwarebyrig: C,H,B,Br. Cantwarabyrig. riclice: C. ricclice; H. om. 231) éa: Th. ea. 232) Augustinus: C. agustinus. 233) swa: I. om. bebead: C. bead. 235) bobade: H. bobode; Th. bodade. 236) agenre: C. agenra; Th. agenre. þysne: C. þisne. 237) middaneard: H. middanearde. 238) heofonan: H. heofona. 239) Augustine: C. agustine.

hé fægere word and behat him cẏdde · and cwæð þæt hé ne mihte swa hrædlice þone / ealdan gewunan ðe hé mid angelcẏnne heold forlǽtan · cwæð þæt hé moste freolice / ða heofonlican láre his leode bodian · and þæt he him and his geferan bigleofan ðenian wolde · / and forgeaf him ða wununge on Cantwarebẏrig · Seo wæs ealles his rices heafodburh; / Ongánn ða Augustinus mid his munecum to geefenlæcenne þæra apostola líf, mid singalum / gebedum and wæccan · and fæstenum gode ðeowigende and lifes word þam ðe hi mihton bodigende ·/ ealle middaneardlice ðing swa swa ælfremede forhógigende ða þing ána þe hí to big/leofan behófedon underfonde · be ðam ðe hí tæhton sẏlfe lẏbbende · and for ðære / soðfæstnẏsse ðe hí bodedon · gearowe wæron ehtnẏsse to ðoligenne · and deaðe sweltan / gif hi dorfton; Hwæt ða gelẏfdon forwel menige · and on godes naman

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240) behat: Th. behát. 242) forlǽtan: Th. forlætan. Angelcynne: I. Ængelcynne. 243) heofonlican: I. heofenlican. 244) geferan: B,H,Br. geferum. þæt B. om. 245) ðenian: C. þenia. 246) Cantwarebyrig: C,B,H,Br. Cantwarabyrig. 247) burh: B. buruh. Ongann: C,B,H,I. Ongan; Th. Ongann. Augustinus: C. agustinus. 248) lif: B. life. singalum: C. singulum. 249) wæccan: C,B,Br. wæccum. ðeowigende: C,I. þeowiende. 250) þam ðe: C.B.þam bodigende: B. bodiende. 251) middaneardlice: C. mid eard eardlice. forhogigende: C,B. forhógiende; Th. forhogigende. 252) behofedon: H. behofedan. underfonde: Th. underfónde. 253) lybbende: C,B. libbende. 254) soðfæstnysse: I. soðfæstnusse. ðe: H. lufe ðe. gearowe: B,G. gearewe; H. gearwe. wæron: C. hi wæron. ehtnysse: I ehtnesse. 255) ðoligenne: C. ðolienne. sweltan: I. swyltan. gif: H. gyf. hi: H. he. 256) menige: C,B,H. mænige.

gefullode wurdon / wundrigende þære bilewitnýsse heora unscæððigan lifes • and swetnýsse heora heofon/lican lare; Ða æt nextan gelustfullode ðam cýninge æðelbrihte heora clæne lif • / and heora wýnsume behát þa soðlice wurdon mid manegum tácnum geseðde • and he ða gelý/fende wearð gefullod • and micclum ða cristenan gearwurðode • and swa swa heofonlice / ceaster gewaran lufode; Nolde swaðeah nænne to cristendome geneadian • forðan / ðe hé ofaxode • æt ðam lareowum his hæle þæt cristes ðeowdom ne sceal beon geneadad • / ac sýlfwilles; Ongunnon ða dæghwomlice forwel menige efstan to gehýrenne ða / halgan bodunge • and forleton heora hæðenscipe • and hí sýlfe geðeoddon cristes gela/ðunge on hine gelýfende; Betwux ðisum gewende Augustinus ofer sǽ to ðam erce/biscope Etherium • and he hine gehádode angelcýnne to ercebiscope • Swa swa

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257) wurdon: B. om. wundrigende: I. wundriende. bilewitnysse: H. bylewitnesse. 258) unscæððigan: H. unscæþiges; I. unsceððigan. lifes: Th. lífes. heora: C. se heora. 259) lare: Th. láre. ða: Th. þa. nextan: I. nystan. gelustfullode: I. gelystfullode. 260) æðelbrihte: H. æþelbirihte. lif: Th. líf. 262) geseðde: C,B,H,I. geseðede. 263) gearwurðode: C. gearwurðude. 264) heofonlice: I. heofenlice. Nolde: C,B. nolde he. 265) forðan: B. forðam. 266) lareowum: Th. láreowum. 267) geneadad: C,V,H. geneadod. 268) dæghwomlice: H,I. dæhwamlice; Th. dæghwomlice. menige: C,B. mænige. 270) hæðenscipe: H. hæþenscype. hi: H. heo. geðeoddon: C,B,H. geðeoddan. cristes: H. to cristes. 271) ðisum: ðysum. Betwux: H. Betweox. gewende: C. gewænde. 272) ercebiscope: I,Br. ercebisceope; B,H. arcebisceope; C. arcebiscope. Etherium...ercebiscope: C. om. 273) behadode: H. gehagode. Angelcynne: B. om. ercebiscope: B. arcebisceope; H,Br. ercebisceope.

him / Gregorius ær gewissode; Augustinus ða gehádod cẏrde to his biscop stole • and asende / ærendracan to Rome • and cẏdde ðam eadigan gregorie þæt Angelcẏnn cristendom / underfeng • and he eac mid gewritum fela ðinga befrán • hu him to drohtnigenne wære / betwux ðam níghworfenum folce; Hwæt ða Gregorius micclum Gode ðancode mid / blissigendum mode þæt angelcẏnne swa gelumpen wæs swa swa he sylf geornlice gewilnode •/ and sende eft ongean ærendracan to ðam geleaffullan cẏninge Æþelbrihte mid / gewritum and menigfealdum lacum • and oðre gewritu to augustine mid andswarum ealra ðæra / ðinga þe he hine befrán • and hine eac ðisum wordum manode; Broðer min se /leofosta • ic wát þæt se Ælmihtiga God fela wundra þurh 160v ðe þære ðeode ðe hé geceas / geswutelað • þæs ðu miht blissigan and eac ðe ondrædan; Þu miht

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274) ær: Th. ǽr. 275) biscop: I,Br. bisceop. asende: C. asænde. 277) Angelcynn: C. angelcyn; I. ængelcynn. 278) fela: C. feala. ðinga: V. þing. 279) drohtnigenne: H. drohtnigende. betwux: H. betweox. nighworfenum: C,V. nihworfenum. 280) Gode: C. om. 281) blissigendum: C. blissiende 283) sende: sænde. eft: C. oft. geleaffullan: B,H. geleaffullum. 284) cyninge: I. cynge. menigfealdum: C,B,H. manigfealdum. 286) hine: H. hi. 287) ðisum: C,I. ðysum. manode: Th. manode. Broðer: C,B,H,I. Broðor. leofosta: C,B,H. leofesta. 288) fela: C. feala. 290) blissigan: C,B,V,H,I. blissian. and...blissigan: C. om.

blissigan gewiss/lice þæt ðære ðeode sawla þurh ða ẏttran wundra beoð getogene to ðære in/cundan gife; Ondrǽd ðe swa ðeah þæt ðin mod ne beo aháfen mid dẏrstignẏsse / on ðam tacnum þe God ðurh ðe gefremað, and þu ðonon on ídelum wuldre befealle wið/innan. þonon ðe ðu wiðutan on wurðmynte aháfen bist; Gregorius asende / eac augustine halige lác on mæsse reafum. and on bocum. and ðæra apostola and martẏra / reliquias samod. and bebead þæt his æftergengan sẏmle ðone pallium and ðone ercehád / æt ðam apostolican setle romaniscre gelaðunge feccan sceoldon; Augustinus ge/sette æfter ðisum biscopas of his geferum gehwilcum burgum on engla ðeode. and hí on go/des geleafan ðeonde ðurhwunodon oð ðisum dægðerlicum dæge; Se eadiga / gregorius gedihte manega halige traht bec. and mid micelre gecnẏrdnẏsse godes / folc to ðam

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291) blissigan: B,V,H,I. blissian. gewisslice: C. gewislice. ðære: C. ðæra. ðeode: C,B. þeoda. 293) incundan: C. incunddan gife: H. gyfe. mod: Th. mód. 294) tacnum: C. tacnam; Th. tacnum. 295) ðonon: C,B,H. þanon. 297) ahafen: Th. ahæfen. asende: C. asænde. 298) augustine: C,B. agustine. bocum: Th. bócum. 299) martyra: C,H,I. martira. 300) æftergengan: B. æftergengengan. symle: H. symble þæt þæt. 301) romaniscre: B. romaniscere. 302) sceoldon: H. sceolden; I. sceoldan. 303) ðisum: C,B. þysum. biscopas: B,H.I,Br. bisceopas. gehwilcum: C. gehwylcum; B. to gehwilcum; I. on gehwilcum. 305) ðeonde: C,B. om. ðurhwunodon: H. ðurhwunedon. oð: C. om. 307) bec: Th. béc. micelre: H. myclre. gecnyrdnysse: H. gecneordnysse; I. gecnyrdnusse. to: C,B,H. to ðam.

ecan life gewissode . and fela wundra on his life geworhte and wul/dorfullice þæs papan setles geweold. ðreottýne gear . and six monðas . and týn dagas . / and siððan on ðisum dæge gewát to ðam ecan setle heofenan rices . on ðam he leofað / mid gode ælmihtigum á . on ecnysse. Amen:

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308) fela: C. feala. on his life geworhte: C,B. geworhte on his life. 309) þæs: C,B. þæt. setles: C. setl. 310) ðreottyne: C,B. þryttene: H. XIII. tyn: H,I. X. 311) siððan: H,I. syððan. ðisum: B,I. ðysum. 312) heofenan: C,B,V,H. heofonan. 313) a on ecnysse: H. a butan ende. ecnysse: I. ecnesse.

160^{v} XIII. Kalendi Aprilis.

Depositio Sancti Cuthberhti Episcopi./

Cuthberhtus se halga biscop scinende on manegum geearnungum and healicum ge/ðincðum· on heofenan rice mid þam ælmihtigum scẏppende on ecere blisse rixi/ende wuldrað; Beda se snotera engla ðeoda láreow þises halgan líf ende/bẏrdlice mid wunderfullum herungum ægðer ge æfter anfealdre gereccednẏsse / ge æfter leoðlicere gẏddunge awrát; Us sæde soðlice beda þæt se eadiga Cuðberhtus / ðaða he wæs eahta wintre cild· árn swa swa him his nẏtenlice ẏld tihte plegende / mid his efen ealdum ac se ælmihtiga god wolde stẏran þære nẏtennẏsse / his gecorenan cuðberhtes þurh mẏnegunge gelimplices láreowes · and asende him to / án ðry wintre cild · þæt hit his dẏslican plegan mid stæððigum wordum wislice ðreade; / Soðlice þæt foresæde ðrẏ wintre

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1) XIII. Kalendi Aprilis: B. om. 2) Depositio: C. om; B. in Natali. 3) biscop: C,B. bisceop. 5) ælmihtigum: C,B. ælmihtigan. heofenan: C,B. heofonan. 6) rixiende: B. rixigende. 7) ðeoda: Th. ðeode. þises: B. þyses. lif: C,B. lyf. endebyrdlice: B. endgebyrdlice. 8) wunderfullum: C,B. wulderfullum. herungum: C. hyrungum. 9) gereccednysse: C,B. gerecednysse. leoðlicere: B. leodlicre. 10) sæde: C. sæd 11) wintre: C,B. wintra. 12) tihte: C,B. tyhte. 13) styran: C. styren. 14) gecorenan: C,B. gecorenum. Cuðberhtes: C. cuþberhtus; B. cuðberhte. 15) lareowes: C. lareowas. and: C,B. þa. asende: C,B. sende him to an: C,B. he him to an. ðry: C. þreo. 17) ðry: C. þreo.

cild. þone gæmnigendan cuðberhtum befran; To hwi / underþeodst þu ðe sylfne þisum ydelum plegan. þu ðe eart fram gode gehalgod mid / roderlicum wurðmynte? Ne gedafenað biscope þæt he beo on dædum folces mannum / gelic; Geswíc la leof swa unðæslices plegan. and geðéod þe to gode. ðe ðe to biscope / his folces geceas þam ðu scealt heofonan rices inðær geopenian; Hwæt ða Cuth/berhtus þægýt mid his plegan forðarn oðþæt his láreow
161^{r} mid biterum tearum / dreoriglice wepende ealra ðæra cildra plegan fǽrlice gestilde; Witodlice eall se / childlica heap wolde þæs anes cildes dreorignýsse gefrefrian. ac hí ealle ne mihton mid/ heora frofre his dreorignýsse adwæscan. ærðan þe cuðberhtus hit mid arfæstum cossum / gegladode and he sýlf siððan æfter þæs cildes mýnegunge. on healicere stæððignýsse / sýmle þurhwunode; Æfter ðisum wearð þæs eadigan cuðberhtes cneow mid heardum / geswelle alefed. swa þæt he mid criccum his feðunge underwreðode; þa gesæt he / sume dæge

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18) C. gemeniendan; B. gæmenigendan. 19) þisum: C. þysum ydelum: C,B. idelan. 20) fram: fra. 21) biscope: C,B. bisceope, he: B. beo. on dædum: C,B. om. 22) gelic: Th. gelíc; 23) þe: Th. ðe. 24) biscope: C,B. bisceope. folces: C. folce. heofonan: B. heofenan. ða: B,C. om. Cuthberhtus: Th. cuðberhtus. 27) dreoriglice: B. dreorilice. wepende: C. wependa. 28) færlice: B. færlilce. 19) childlica: C,B. cilda. 32) mid: C. mid his. 34) stæððignysse: C. gestæðinysse. symle: B. se synle. 35) ðisum: þysum. Cuðberhtes: C,B. cuðberhtus 36) geswelle: C. geswylle.

under súnn beame ana on sundran• and his sceancan beðode• him / com ða ridende to sum arwurðe ridda sittende on snaw hwitum horse• and he sẏlf / mid hwitum gẏrlum befangen wæs and he ðone halgan mid gesibsumum swæslice / grette• biddende þæt he him dægwistes gedafenlice tiðode; Cuðberhtus ða to ðam / engle anmodlice cwæð; Ic wolde ðine ðenunge sẏlf nu gearcian gif ic me mid feð/unge ferian mihte; Min ádlige cneow is ẏfele gehæfd þæt ne mihte nán læce wẏrht / awiht geliðian ðeah ðe heo gelome to geléd wære; þa gelihte se cuma and his cneow / grapode mid his halwendum handum• and het hine geniman hwætene smedeman• and on meolc awẏllan and swa mid ðære / hætan þæt toðundene lim gewriðan• and æfter ðisum wordum his hors bestrád on ðam sið/fæte ðe hé ðider cóm aweg ferende; Hwæt ða cuðberhtus æfter þæs engles láre his cneow / beðode

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38) sunn: C,B. sun. ana on sundran: C,B. om. sceancan: C. scance; Th. scencan. 42) gesibsumum: Th. gesibsum. 43) dægwistes: C,B. dægwiste. 44) Cuðberhtus: C. cuðbertus. am: C om. anmodlice: C. om. Th. ánmódlice. gehæfd: C. gehæfed. wyrht: C,B. wyrt. 48) awiht: B. ariht. ðeah: Th. þeah. 48) þa: B. þu. 50) geniman: C,B. niman. 51) smedeman: C,B. smedman. meolc: C,B. meoloce. awyllan: C,B. wyllan. 53) ðisum: C.þyssum. bestrad: C,B. gestrad.

and he sona gesundfull his færeldes breac • and ongeat þæt god þurh his engel / hine geneosode; Se ðe giú ǽr þone blindan Tobían þurh his heah engel Raphahel / mihtelice onlihte; Eft se halga cuðberhtus ða ða hé wacode mid hẏrdemannum / on felda on his geogoðe • geseah heofonas opene • and englas gelæddon Aidanes biscopes / sawle mid micclum wuldre into ðære heofonlican mẏrhðe; Hwilon eac Cuðberhtus / ferde geond lánd bodigende godes geleafan • ða for unwedre gecẏrde he to sumes / hẏrdes cýtan • þe stod weste on ðam westene ðe hé oferferde • and getígde his hors / ðær binnon; Ða mid ðam þe he is gebedu sang. ða tær þæt hors þæt ðæc of ðære cýtan / hrofe • and þær feoll adúne swilce of ðam hrofe wearmhláf mid his sẏlfinge; / He ða geðancode gode þære sande • and mid þære hine sẏlfne gereordode; Se eadiga / Cuþberhtus æfter ðisum ealle woruldðing eallunge forlet • and mid halgum ðeawum hine / sẏlfne to munuc life geðeodde

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56) and: C. and on. 58) giu: C,B. iu 59) Raphahel: C. raphael. onlihte: B. onleohte. 61) geseah: C,B. þa geseah he. 62) Aidanes: B. aigdanes. biscopes: B. bisceopes. wuldre: B. wundrum. 64) bodigende: C,B. bodiende. 65) unwedre: C,B. unwedere. 66) hyrdes: C. hyrde. weste: C,B. fæste. 67) getigde: C. getygde. 69) þær: C,B. om. 70) wearmhlaf: C,B. an wearmhlaf. 73) ðisum: C. þysum; B. þan woruld: C. weoruld. eallunge: C. om. B. eallunga.

and he hrædlice siððan hé munuc wæs wearð
geset / cumena ðen þæt he cumena huses gẏmde • and
mẏnsterlicum cumum geðensum wære; / þa æt sumon
sæle on wintres dæge him com to godes engel on
161^{v} cuman hiwe • and / cuðberhtus hine mid ealre cumliðnẏsse
80- underfeng; þa gecẏrde hé út ẏmbe þæs cuman / ðenunge•
ac hé ne gemette nænne cuman ðaða hé inn cóm •
ac lagon ðrẏ heofonlice / hláfas on lilian beorhtnẏsse
scinende • and on hrosan bræðe stẏmende • and on
swæcce / swettran þonne beona húnig; þa sceawode
se halga cuðberhtus on ðam snawe gehwǽr /
hwẏder se cuma siðigende ferde • ac ða ða hé nane
fotswaðe on ðam snawe ne geseah • / ða ongeat hé
þæt se cuma wæs engel and na mann • seðe ðone heofenlican
fodan him brohte • / and ðæs eorðlican ne rohte;
90- þes foresǽda halga wer wæs gewunod þæt he
wolde gán on / niht to sǽ, and standon on ðam
sealtan brẏmme oð his swẏran • sẏngende his gebedu;
þa on sumere nihte hlósnode sum oðer munuc his
þæreldes • and mid sleáccre stalcunge / his fótswaðum

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75) siððan: C,B. syððan. 76) geset: B. gesett. ðen: Th. ðén. gymde: C. gemde. cumena: B. muneca. 80) ymbe: C. embe. 81) inn: C. in. 82) lagon: C. lægen. ðry: C. þreo. heofonlice: C. heofenlic. 83) hrosan: C,B. rosan. 84) swettran: C,B. swettre. 85) snawe: Th. snáwe. 86) hwyder: C,B. hwider. siðigende: C. siðiende. nane: Th. náne. 87) fotswaðe: C. forswaða; B. fotswaðu. snawe: Th. snáwe. 88) mann: C. man. heofenlican: Th. heofonlican. 89) fodan: C. fodon. ðæs: C. þær. rohte: C. gerohte. 92) sealtan: C,B. saltum. swyran: C,B. swuran. syngende: C. sigende; B. singende. 94) þæreldes: C. fereldes. sleaccre: C,B. sleacre. stalcunge: C,B. stælcunge.

filigde oððæt hí begen to sǽ becomon; Ða dẏde cuðberhtus swa his gewuna / wæs · sang his gebedu on sælicere ẏðe · standende oð þone swẏran · and sẏððan his cneowa / on ðam ceosle gebigde · astrehtum handbredum to heofenlicum rodore; Efne ða comon /
100- twegen seolas of sǽlicum grunde · and hi mid heora flẏse his fét drẏgdon · and mid heora / blæde his leoma beðedon and siððan mid gebeacne his bletsunge bǽdon · licgende ǽt his foton on fealwum ceosle; Þa Cuðberhtus ða sǽlican nẏtenu on sund asende / mid soðre bletsunge · and on merigenlicere tide mẏnster gesohte; Wearð þa se munuc / micclum afẏrht and adlig on ærne merigen hine geeadmette to ðæs halgan cneowum / biddende þæt hé his ádl eallunge aflígde · and his fẏrwitnẏsse fæderlice
110- miltsode; / Se halga ða sona andwẏrde Ic ðinum gedwẏlde dearnunge miltsige gif ðu ða gesihðe mid/ swigan bedíglast · oððæt min sawul heonon siðige of andwerdum life gelaðod to heofonan; / Cuðberhtus ða mid gebede his sceaweres seocnẏsse gehælde · and

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95) to: C. on sælicre yðe to. 97) sǽlicere: . C. sælicre. swyran: C,B. swuran. 98) cneowa: C,B. cneowu. 99) heofenlicum: C. heofonlicum. rodore: C,B. rodere. 100) seolas: C,B. sealas. hi: C,B. om. 101) drygdon: C,B. drigdon. blæde: C. bræðe. 102) siððan: B. syððan. gebeacne: C,B. beacne. 103) foton: C,B. fotum. 104) nytenu: C. nytene. asende: C. asænde. 105) merigenlicere: C. mergenlicre; B. merigenlicre. tide: Th. tíde. mynster: B. his mynster. 107) merigen: C. mergen. 108) halgan: C,B. halgum. 109) eallunge: C,B. eallunga. fyrwitnysse: C,B. fyrewitnysse. miltsode: B. gemiltsode. 111) dearnunge: C. ðearnunge. 112) bediglast: C. bediglost. heonon: B. heonan. 113) heofonan: C,B. heofonum.

his fẏrwites ganges gẏlt / forgeaf; Fela wundra wurdon geworhte ðurh ðone halgan cuðberht • ac we wẏllað / for sceortnẏsse sume forsuwian• ðy lǽs ðe ðeos racu eow to lang ðince; Witodlice / Cuþerhtus ferde • swa swa his gewuna wæs • ýmbe geleaffulre bodunge • þæt he ðam unge/læredum folce lifes weig tæhte; Þa fleah sum earn ætforan him on siðe • and he his ge/feran befrínan ongann • hwá hí to ðam dæge afedan sceolde; Ða cwæð his gefera / þæt he gefẏrn smeade • hwær hí bigleofan biddan sceoldon ðaða hí ða fare ferdon buton / wiste; Cuðberhtus ða him togeanes cwæð; La hwæt se ælmihtiga god mæg for eaðe / unc þurh ðisne earn ǽt fore sceawian seðe gíu ǽr Elian afedde• þurh ðone sweartan / hremm• ǽr hé to heofonan siðode; 162^{r} Hi ða ferdon forð siðigende and efne se earn / on ðam ofre gesæt • mid fisce geflogen• þone hé ðærrihte gefeng; Þa cwæð se halga / to his geferan• ẏrn to ðam earne and him of anim þæs fisces dæl ðe he gefangen hæfð•/ unc to gereorde; Sẏ

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115) forgeaf: C. fogeaf. fela: C. feola; B. feala. 117) wyllað: C,B. willa forsuwian: C. forswuwian. ðy: C. þi. 118) ðince: C,B. þynce. Cuþerhtus: Th. Cuðberhtus. 119) ymbe: C,B. embe. geleaffulre: B. geleaffulra. 120) ungelæredum: C. ungeleafedum; B. ungelæredan. weig: C. weg. 121) siðe: C. siðe on siðe. 122) ongann: C,B. ongan. 123) ða: Th. þa. 125) fare: C. fara. 126) Cuðberhtus: C. Cuðbærhtus. 128) foresceawian: C. foransceawian. giu. C,B. iu. Elian: C.heliam; B. helian. 129) hremm: C. hrem; B. hræmn. heofonan: C,B. heofonum. 130) siðigende: C. siðiende.

lóf ðam ælmihtigan þe unc ðurh ðisne fugel fedan wolde; / Sýle swa ðeah sumne dæl ðam earne to edleane his geswinces; Hi ða æfter gereorde / on heora weg ferdon • and cuðberhtus ðam folce fægere bodade • þæt hi wære wæron / wið deofles sýrwum• ðý læs ðe hé mid leasunge heora geleafan awýrde• and fram / ðære bodunge heora mód abrude; þæt folc ða færlice ongann forð aræsan / betwux þýssere minegunge micclum bepæht • þæt hi ðære láre to lýt gymdon; Hwæt / se swicola feond hí swiðe bedýdrode • swilce ðær sum hus soðlice forburne • brast/ligende mid brandum gedwýmorlice swa ðeah; Þa wolde þæt folc þæt fýr adwæscan• gif / hit ænig wæta wánian mihte; Ac ðæs halgan andwerdnyss eaðelice acwencte þæs deof/les dýderunge • þe hi dwollice filigdon• and ðæs lifes word lýthwon gýmdon; Þæt folc ða / ofscamod ongean cýrde to ðære láre ðe hí ær forleton • biddende æt ðam láreowe / liðe miltsunge • þæt hí his láre ær to lýt gýmdon ða ða hé ða fræcednýsse him

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135) ðisne: C,B. þysne. fugel: B. fugol. 136) Syle: C. sele. sumne ... earne: C. ðam earne sumne dæl. 140) ðy: Th. þy. awyrde: C. wyrde. 141) færlice: C,B. fægerlice. ongann: C,B. ongan. aræsan: C,B. aræran. þyssere: C. þissere. 143) minegunge: C,B. mynegunge. micclum: C. wurdon micclum. 144) swicola: C. swicala. 145) hus: Th. hús. 146) brastligende: C. brastliende. gedwymorlice: C,B. gedwimorlice. 148) wæta: C. wæte. andwerdnyss: B. andweardnys. 149) acwencte: C. acwæncte. dýderunge: C,B. dýdrunge. 150) lifes: Th. lifes. 151) ofscamod: C,B. ofsceamod. 154) lare: C. lar

fore/sæde; Cuðberhtus swa ðeah on oðrum timan ·
eall byrnende hús ána ahredde/ wið fẏres dare · mid
halgum benum · and ðone windes blǽd · aweg flígde ·
seðe ær for oft/ ða ættrigan flán · deoflicere
costnunge · on him sẏlfum adwæscte · þurh gescẏldnysse/
160- soðes Drihtnes; He wolde gelome · leodum bodian · on
fẏrlenum lande · unforhtigende/ Hwæt ða him geuðe
se ælmihtiga god fægre getingnẏsse ðam folce
to láre · and him / men ne mihton · heora mód behẏdan ·
ac hí eadmodlice · him geandetton · heora / digelnẏssa ·
and elles ne dorston · and be his dihte · digellice
gebetton; Sum eawfæst / man · eac swilce hæfde micele
cẏððe to ðam halgan cuðberhte · and gelomlice his
láre / breac. Þa getimode his wife wẏrs ðonne hé
beðorfte · þæt heo ðurh wodnẏsse · micclum / wæs gedreht;
170- Þa com se eawfæsta · to ðam eadigan cuðberhte · and
hé wæs on ðam timan · / to prafoste geset · on ðam munuc
life · þe is lindisfarnea geháten · þa ne mihte he /
for sceame him openlice secgan · þæt his eawfæste
wíf · on ðære wodnẏsse lǽg · ac bæd / þæt he asende

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155) fore: C,B. beforan. Cuðberhtus: C. cuðbærhtus. 156) ahredde: C. areode. dare: B. dara. 158) ættrigan: C,B. ættrian. deoflicere: C. deofollicre; B. deoflicre. 159) costnunge: C,B. costunge. 161) fyrlenum: C,B. fyrenum. unforhtigende: C. unforhtiende. ða him: B. him ða. 162) fægre: C,B. fægere. getingnysse: C. getẏngnysse. 163) men: C,B. menn. 164) ac: C. and ac. digelnyssa: C. dygelnyssa. 166) gebetton: B. betton. man: B. mann. micele: B. miccle. 167) cyððe: C. cyðe. halgan Cuðberhte: C. were Cuþberhte. 168) wyrs: C. wers. he: C. heo; B. hi. 170) eawfæsta: C. eawfæste. 171) prafoste: C. profoste. geset: C. gesett. 173) eawfæste: C. eawfæsta.

summe broðer· þe hire gerihta· gedón mihte· ǽrðan
ðe heo of lífe · / gelæd wurde; Ða wiste cuðberhtus
eal be ðam wífe· and wolde þurh hine sẏlfne· sona
hí/geneosian forðan ðe heo ǽrðon eawfæst leofode
ðeah ðe se únsið hire swa gelumpe; / Þa begann se
wer dreorig wépan · anðracigende· ðæs ungelimpes;
162ᵛ Cuðberhtus / hine ða mid wordum gefrefrode · cwæð
þæt se deofol· þe hire derigan wolde· on his geneo/sunge·
forlætan sceolde· and mid micelre fẏrhte aweg fleon·
and þæt wíf mid gewitte / wel sprecende · him togeanes
gán· and his bridel onfón; Hit ða gelamp· be
ðæs / láreowes wordum· þæt þæt wíf gewittig· hine
mid wordum gegrette · bæd þæt heo moste / him mete
gearcian · and cẏdde hu se deofol· hi dearnunge
forlét · and swiðe forhti/gende · fleames cepte· ðaða
se halga þider siðode; Cuðberhtus se halga· / siððan
gefremode · mihtiglice wundra· on ðam mẏnstre wunigende;
Begann ða / on móde micclum · smeagan· hú hé ðæs folces
lóf forfleón mihte· þẏ læs ðe hé wurde · / to hlisful
on worulde · and þæs heofenlican lofes· fremde wære;

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175) broðer: C,B. broðor. gerihta: C. gerihte; B. gerihtu. 176) wurde: C,B. wurðe. 177) eal. C. eall. þurh: C. þurhh. sona: C. om. B. heo sona. 178) hi: C. heo. ærðon: C,B. ærðan. 179) begann: C,B. began. 180) wepan: C. wæpan. anðracigende: C,B. anðraciende. 181) hine: C. om. 182) deofol: C. deoful. derigan: C,B. derian. geneosunge: C,B. geneosunge hi. 183) fyrhte: C,B. fyrhtu. 184) him: C,B. ongan him. 186) gewittig hine: C,B. hine gewitig. 187) gegrette: C,B. grette. 188) hu: Th. hú. 189) forhtigende: C. fortiende. 190) Cuðberhtus: C. Cuðbertus. 191) gefremode: C. gefremede. on ðam mynstre: C. wundra on ðam. wunigende: C,B. wuniende. 192) smeagan: C. sneagen; B. smeagum. he: C. om. folces: C. folce. 193) lof: B. laf. heofenlican: C,B. heofonlican. fremde: C,B. fræmde.

Wolde ða ánstandende / ancer líf adreogan · and on digelnýsse eallunge drohtnian; Ferde ða to farne on / flowendre ýðe þæt ígland is eal beworpen · mid sealtum brýmme · on sǽ middan / þæt wiðinnan eall ǽr ðam fýrste · mid sweartum gastum · swiðe wæs afýlled · swa þæt men / ne mihton · þa moldan bugian · for ðeowracan · sweartra deofla · ac hí ealle ða / endemes flugon · and þæt ígland eallunge gerýmdon · ðam æðelan cempan · and he ðær / ána wunode · orsorh heora ándan þurh ælmihtigne god; Þa wæs þæt ígland · mid / ealle bedæled wæteres wýnsumnýsse · on ðam westum cludum · ac se halga wer · ða sona / het · þa heardnýsse · swiðe hólian · on middan ðære flore · his ðegeran botles · and / þær wæter æddre ða wýnsum asprang · werod on swæcce · þam were to brice Se ðe / hwilon wæter to winlicum swǽcce · wundorlice awende ða ða hit wolde god; Se halga ða / het him bringan sǽd · wolde on ðam westene · wæstmes tilian gif hit swa geuðe se ælmiht/iga god þæt hé mid his foton hine fedan moste; He seow ða hwæte · on

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195) and: C,B.om. 196) eallunge: B. eallunga. farne: B. farnea. 197) eal: C,B. eall. 198) þæt: Th. and. 200) afyled: C. gefylled. men: C,B. menn. bugian: C. bogian. 201) ðeowracan: B. þam wracan. endemes: C. ændemes. 202) eallunge: C. eallunga. gerymdon: C. rimdon; B. rymdon. 203) cempan: C. c mpan. 208) ðær: Th. þæt. æddre: C. ædre. ða: C,B. om. 209) brice: C,B. bryce. 211) awende: C. awænde. 214) foton: C,B. fotum.

beswuncenum / lande• ac hit to wæstme aspringan ne
moste • ne furðon mid gǽrse growende wæs; / þa
het he him bringan• bere to sæde • and ofer ælcne
timan• ða eorðan aseow; Hit weox ða mid wẏnne and
wel gerípode; þa woldon hremmas • hine bereafian• æt
his gedeorfum • / gif hí dorston• Ða cwæð se halga •
to ðam heard nebbum Gif se Ælmihtiga eow• ðises
geuðe / brucað þæra wæstma • and me ne biddað;
Gif hé ðonne eow ðises ne getiðode • gewitað /
aweg• wælhreowe fugelas • to eowrum eðele • of ðisum
íglande • Hwæt ða hremmas ða • / ricene flugon • ealle
tosomne • ofer ðone sealtan brým • and se halga ða•
his geswinces / breac; Eft ða siððan oðre twegen
swearte hremmas siðlice comon • and his hús tæron /
mid heardum bile • and to neste bæron • heora briddum
163^{r} to hleowðe; þas eac se eadiga • / mid ealle aflígde•
of ðam eðele • mid anum worde; Ac an ðæra fugela•
eft / fleogende com • ẏmbe ðrẏ dagas• þ earle dreorig•
fleah to his foton• friðer bid/dende þæt he
on ðam lande • lẏbban moste • symle unscæððig • and his

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216) moste: B. mihte. growende: C. growænde. 217) bringan bere: C,B. bere bringan. 218) aseow: C,B. seow. 219) wel: C. well. geripode: C. gegripode. hremmas: C,B. hræmmas. 220) dorston: C. dorstan swa; B. dorston swa. 221) eow: C,B. om. ðises: B. ðyses.223) ðises: B. ðyses. ne: C. ge. 224) eðele: C. æðele. ðisum: B. ðysum. 225) hremmas: C. hræmmas. B. hr mmas. 226) a: C. om.227) si an: B. sy an. 228) swearte: C. sweartre. hremmas: C. hræmmas; B. hræmmas; Th. hremmas. comon: C. om. hleowðe: C,B. hlywðe. 231) an: Th. án. 232) ðry: C,B. þreo. 233) foton: C,B. fotum. friðer: Th. swiðe. 234) lybban: C,B. libban. symle: C. simle. unscæððig: C. unsceððig.

gefera samod; Hwæt ða se halga him . þæs geuðe .
and hí lustbære . þæt land gesohton . and brohton /
ðam láreowe . lac to medes . swines rẏsl his scon to
gedreoge . and hi ðær siððan unscæððige wunedon;
Þa wolde se halga sum hús timbrian to his nedbricum /
240- mid his gebroðra fultume . Þa bæd hé hí anre sẏlle
þæt he mihte þæt hús on ða sǽ healfe / mid þære
underlecgan; Þa gebroðra him beheton þæt hi
woldon þæt treow þonne hí/eft comon him
gebringan; Ða comon hí swa swa hí cwædon
and wurdon swa ðeah / ðæs treowes ungemẏndige . ac
se ælmihtiga god his wæs gemẏndig . and him ða
sẏlle / sẏlf asende mid þam sǽlicum flóde . and
þæt flód hí awearp ðær ðær hé sẏlf smeade /
þæt hús to arærenne . on ðam sealtum ófre;
250- Þa wunode se halga wer manega geár . / on ðam ancerlífe
swiðlice stiðe . and hine geneosodon gelóme eawfæste
menn / . and be his láre heora líf gerihtlæhton;
Ða com him to sum abbudẏsse . seo wæs Ælflæd /
gehatén . ðæs cẏninges sweoster Ecgfrides . wolde

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235) geuðe: C. uþe. 237) rysl: C,B. rysle. 238) siððan: B. syððan. unscæððige: C. unsceððige. 239) timbrian: B. getimbrian. nedbricum: C, bricum; B. brycum. 240) anre: B. om. 241) he: B. hi. 243) hi: C. om. 244) ða: Th. þa. 244) hi: B. he. cwædon: C. gecwædon. 245) ungemyndige: C. gemyndige. 246) ða: B. þu; C. om. 249) arærenne: C. awærenne. 250) ancerlife: C,B. ancorlife. 253) him to: C,B. to him. abbudysse: C. abbodysse; B. abbudesse. seo wæs: C,B. om. 254) sweoster: C,B. swuster. Ecgfrides: C. ecgfriðes.

þurh his mýnegungum hire mód / getrýmman; Þa betwux heora spræce begánn heo to halsigenne ðone halgan wer · / þæt hé sceolde hire secgan hú lange hire broðor Ecgfridus moste his rices brucan; / Þa andwyrde hire se halga mid twýlicere spræce and cwæð; For nahte bið geteald ánes geares / lust þær ðær se swearta deað onsigende bið; Ða undergeat heo þæt se broðer ne moste / his lifes brucan ofer ðam ánum geare · and þærrihte dreoriglice wepende hine befrán; / La leof sege me hwá sceal to his rice fón þonne hé broðer næfð · ne he bearn ne belæfð; Ða cwæð se halga wer eft to ðam mædene; Se ælmihtiga scýppend hæfð gehealden / summe gecorenne · þýssere leode to cýninge · and se bið ðe swa leof swa nu is se oðer;/ Þa gedýrstlæhte þæt mæden þæt heo him ðagýt to spræc · and cwæð; Mislice smeagað / manna heortan sume wilniað geðincðe þýssere worulde · sume gefýllað heora / fracedan lustas · and hí ealle syððan sorhlice wædliað; Þu forsihst ðone healican / wurðmýnt · and ðe is leofre onðisum

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256) begann: C,B. began. halsigenne: C. halsienne. 260) lust: C. fyrst. 262) se broðer: C,B. se hire broðor. lifes: Th. lífes. 264) sege: C,B. sæge. to: C,B. om. 265) fon: C,B. on fon. broðer: C,B. broðor. næfð: C. nefð. 266) ða cwæð ... mædene: C. om. 268) gecorenne: C,B. gecorene. þyssere: C. þeossere; B. þissere. 270) spræc: C,B. spræce. 271) Mislice: C,B. Mistlice. geðincðe: C. geðyncðe. 272) þyssere: C. þissere. fracedan: C. fracodan. 273) sorhlice: C. soðlice. forsihst: B. forrihte. 274) ðisum: C. ðysum.

wacum scræfum. ðonne ðu on healle healic biscop / sitte; Ða cwæð se witega. þæt hé wurðe mære swa miccles hádes. / ne ðæs heahsetles. ac swa þeah nán man godes mihte ne forflihð. on nánum heolstrum heofenan. / oþþe eorðan oþþe sæ ðriddan; Ic gelẏfe swa ðeah. gif se 163^{v} Ælmihtiga me hǽtt / þæs hádes beon þæt ic eft mote ðis ígland gesecan. Æfter twegra geara ẏmbrene. and ðyses / eðeles brucan; Ic bidde þe Ælfled. þæt ðu uncre spræce. on minum líf e nánum ne a/meldige; Æfter ðisum wordum wearð gemót gehæfd. and Ecgfridus þæron gesæt. and þeodorus. / ðises íglandes ercebiscop. mid manegum oðrum geðungenum witum. and hí ealle anmodlice / þone eadigan Cuðberhtum to biscope gecuron; Ða sendon hí sona gewritu. mid þam ærende / to ðam eadigan were. ac hi ne mihton hine of his mẏnstre gebringan; þa reow se cẏning / sẏlf Ecgfridus to ðam iglande. and Trumwine biscop mid oðrum eawfæstum werum. and hi ðone / halgan swiðe halsodon. heora cneow bigdon. and mid tearum bædon. oð þæt hí hine wepende / of ðam westene

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275) healle: C,B. om. biscop: C,B. bisceop. 276) wurðe: B. wyrðe. miccles: C. miceles. man: C,B. mann. forflihð: C. forfleohð. heofenan: C,B. heofonan. 280) hætt: C. hat; B. hæt. 281) gesecan: B. gerecan. ymbrene: C,B. ymbryne. 282) ðyses: B. ðises. 283) nanum ne: C. nanum menn ne. 284) ðisum: C,B. ðysum. 286) ðises: B. ðyses. ercebiscop: C. arcebiscop; B. arcebisceop. 287) anmodlice: Th. ánmodlice. Cuðberhtum: B. Cuðberhtus. 288) biscope: B. bisceope. gecuron: C. gecuren. sendon: C,B. sændon. hi: B. heo. 291) iglande: Th. íglande. biscop: C,B. bisceop. 293) halgan: C,B. om. halsodon: B. halsudon. C. heora: C. heore. cneow: C,B. cneowu 294) hi: C. heo.

atugon. to ðam sinoðe samod mid him. and he ðone hád be heora hæse / underfeng. swa swa hit gefyrn ǽr gesǽd wæs ðurh ðæs cildes muð. and þæs mæran biscopes / Boísiles. ðe him mid soðre witegunge his lífes endebẏrdnẏsse sǽde; On ðam ẏlcan / geare wearð eac of slegen ecgfridus se æðela cẏning on his unsiðe. ða ða hé on peohtum / begann to feohtenne to dẏrstelice ofer drihtnes willan. and his cẏfes borena broðor / siððan rixode. se ðe for wisdome wende to scottum. þæt he ælðeodig on láre geðuge. / Þa wæs gefẏlled seo fore sǽde spræc. swa se halga wer. sǽde þam mædene. be hire / gebroðrum. ǽr he biscop wære; Hwæt ða siððan se halga cuðberhtus Lindisfarnensi/scere gelaðunge leod biscop. mid ealre gecneordnẏsse. his folces gẏmde to geefen/læcunge ðæra eadigra apostola. and hí mid singalum gebedum gescẏlde wið deofol. and mid / halwendum mẏngungum. to heofonan tihte. and he swa leofode swa swa hé sẏlf lærde. / and á his bodunga. mid gebẏsnungum astealde. and eac mid wundrum

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295) him: C. heom. 296) be: C,B, om. 298) biscopes: B. bisceopes. 299) ylcan: C,B. ilcan. 300) ofslegen: C,B. ofslægen. ecgfridus: C. ecgfrid. æðela: C. om. 301) begann: C. began. 303) borena: C. borenne. siððan: C,B. syððan. wende: C. gewende; B. gewænde. 305) sæde: B. om. 306) swa: B. swa swa. 307) biscop: B. bisceop; siððan: C. syððan. 208) Lindisfarnensiscere: C. Lindisfarnensiscre scire; B. Lindisfarnensciscre scire. 309) biscop: C,B. bisceop. gecneordnysse: C,B. gecnyrdnysse. 310) geefenlæcunge: C,B, efenlæcunge. 302) myngungum: C. mynegungum. heofonan: C,B. heofonum. tihte: C. tyhte. 313) gebysnungum: C. gebisnungum; B. bisnungum.

wel geglengede• / and mid soðre lufe sẏmle geswette• and gemetegode mid micclum geðẏlde and wæs swiðe / estful on ælcere spræce; He nolde awendan his gewunelican bígleofan• ne his gewǽda / ðe hé on westene hæfde ac ða stiðnẏssa• his stearcan bígleofan• betwux læwedum folce• / on his life geheold; He wæs swiðe welig• wædlum and ðearfum• and symle him sẏlfum swiðe / hafenleas; þa geworhte he fela wundra eac• binnon ðam fẏrste ðe he biscop wæs; / Mid halgum wætere• he gehælde sum wíf• anes ealdormannes ǽwe fram earmlicere coðe• / and heo sona gesund him sẏlfum ðenode; Eft on ðære ẏlcan tide• hé mid ele gesmẏrode / an licgende mæden• on langsumum sáre ðurh hefigtẏmum heafod ece and hire sona / wæs bet; Sum eawfæst wer• wæs eac ẏfele gehæfd• and læg æt forðsiðe• his freondum / orwene• þa hæfde heora sum haligne hláf þone se eadiga wer• 164^{r} ǽr gebletsode• and he / ðone þærrihte on wæter bedẏpte• and his ádligum mæge• on þone muð begeat•

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315) geglengede: C. geglænde. 319) stiðnyssa: C,B. stiðnysse.
323) biscop: B. bisceop. halgum: C,B. halegum.
324) gehælde: C. hælde. anes: C. om. ealdormannes: C,B. þæs ealdormannes. 325) earmlicere: C. earmlicre.
326) ylcan: C,B. ilcan. 327) gesmyrode: C,B. smyrode. licgende: C. lincgende. 328) hire: C. heora. 330) æt: C. at. for siðe: C. forðfore. 331) se: B. þe se. eadiga: C. adiga. 332) þone þ rrihte: B. þane þærrihte.

and he ðærrihte / þæt adl gestilde; Eac on oðrum
timan • sum adlig cniht • færlice wearð geferod • ætforan /
ðam witan • ða ða hé mid lare • geond lánd ferde •
þa bædon ða bǽrmen • his bletsunge / georne • and hé
ðærrihte • þone cniht arærde • swa þæt hé gesundful •
siðode on fotum • seðe / on bǽre þider gebóren
340- wæs; Sum earm moder uneaðelice bær • hire sámcuce
cild • swiðe / dreorig • on ðam ẏlcan wege • þe se wita
ferde; þa besargode he • ðære sorhfullan meder • and /
geswæslice ða • hire sunu cẏste • cwæð þæt hire
cild gesund beon sceolde • and eal hire híwisce
hræðe brucan • and ðæs witegan wórd • wurdon gefẏllede;
Ælflæd ða eft • þæt æðele mæden • / þone halgan
láreow • to hire gelaðode ða gesæt he æt mẏsan
micclum onbrẏrd • he beseah, / to heofonum • and his sex
awearp; þa axode hine • Seo eadige Domne • hwí hé swa
350- hrædlice / his gereord forlete? ða cwæð se biscop •
mid onbrẏrdum móde; Efne nu ic geseah • englas /
ferigan • gesælige sawle • of ðinum bóclande • to healicre
heofenan • mid halgum sange • and his / nama ðe bið ardlice

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334) þæt: C,B þære. adl: C,B. adle. 337) bærmen: B. bærmenn.
340) moder: C,B. modor. uneaðelice: C. uneaðe. hire: C. hyre.
B. om. 341) ylcan: C,B. ilcan. 343) ða: C,B. om. hire: C.
heora. 344) eal: C,B. eall. hire: B. om. hiwisc: C. hywisc.
347) ða: Th. þa. 348) onbryrd: C. onbrird; B. onbryrded.
350) ða: Th. þa. biscop: C,B. bisceop. 351) onbryrdum: C.
abrirdum; B. abryrdum. 352) ferigan: C,B. ferian.
gesælige: C,B. gesæliglice. sawle: C,B. om. 353) heofenan:
heofonan.

gecẏdd · on ærne merigen · þonne ic offrige gode · þa líflican lác · / on geleaffulre cẏrcan; Hit wearð ða gewidmærsod · swa swa se witega cwæð þæt hire hẏrde/man· ðurh holdrædene ða sume ác astah· and his orf bæswode mid treowenum helme · / and hé hearde feoll · gewát of worulde· mid wuldre to Gode· for ðære hẏlde · his hirdrædene; / Hwá mæg æfre ealle gereccan· þa mihtigan tácna · ðises halgan weres · hú oft hé eaðelice·/ adlige gehælde · and þa sweartan gastas · symle afligde · and þægra manna forðsið · foregleaw / sæde · wís ðurh witegunge · wisdomes gastes; þa wunode sum sacerd· swiðe gelẏfed · on / ancer setle · æfter his láre · and on gehwilcum geare hine geneosode · hereberhtus geháten · / hóhful on móde; Cuðberhtus ða sona · hine on sundron gespræc · cwæð þæt he ða sceolde / swiðlice befrínan his nẏdþearfnẏsse · ær his nextan dæge · cwæð þæt hé ne moste / on menniscum life · hine eft geseon· of ðam andweardan dæge; Hereberhtus ða · swiðe / hóhful wearð · and feol to his fotum · mid flowendum tearum ·

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354) gecydd: C,B. gecyd. merigen: B. merien. ic: C. is. 355) cyrcan: C. circan. 357) hyrdeman: C. hyreman; B. mann. 358) orf: C. horf. 359) feoll: C. feol. 360) hirdrædene: C,B. heordrædene. 361) ðises: C,B. ðyses. 362) eaðelice: C. eaðalice. 363) gastas: C. gastastes. þægra: C. þæra; B. þæigra. 366) æfter his ... geneosode: C. om. 367) hereberhtus: C,B. herebrihtus. 368) onsundron: C. onsundran. 369) he: C. om. 370) nextan: C. nehstan. 371) menniscum: C. C. mænniscum. 372) andweardan: B. andweardum. Hereberhtus: C. herebrihtus; C. herebrehtus. swiðe: B. sona swiðe. 373) feol: B. feoll.

bæd þæt hé moste him mid siðian· / to heofenlicum
ðrymme · of ðẏsum gewinne· swa swa hé on life· his
láre gehẏrsumode; / Hwæt ða se biscop· his cneowa
gebigde· to ðissere bene· mid bliðum mode· and
syððan / ðone sacerd· sona gefrefrode· cwæð þæt
him geuðe· se ælmihtiga wealdend· þæt híæt/somne
380- siðian moston· of ðisum earfoðnẏssum· to ecere myrhðe;
Hereberhtus ða / hám gewende· and on leger bedde·licgende
abád· þæs oðres geendunge· mid ádlium lẏmum; Cuðberhtus
se halga· þa swiðe onette· to ðam ancer setle· ðær
164v hé ǽr gesǽt· ðurh alige / mẏngunge mihtiges drihtnes·
wolde on ðam lánde·his líf geendian· þær ðær
hé / ǽr lange lẏbbende drohtnode; and hé on ðam
lande ða gelegered wearð· on his forð/siðe ·
swiðe fús to gode· on ðam ðriddan geare · his biscophádes
and on ðisum dæge / to drihtne gewát and hereberhtus
390- samod· se halga sacerd · swa swa hí on life ǽr geleornodon·
þurh godes gást· mid gódum willan; His lic wearð

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374) him mid: C,B. mid him. heofenlicum: C,B. heofonlicum.
375) ðysum: C. ðisum. 376) biscop: B. bisceop. 377) ðissere:
C,B. ðyssere. 379) hi: C. hio; B. he ætsomne: C,B.
to somne. 380) moston: C. mostan. ðisum: C. ðiosum.
381) Hereberhtus: C. herebrihtus; B. herebrehtus. gewende:
C. gewænde. licgende: C. lincgende. 382) abad: C. abæd.
geendunge: C. geændunge. adlium: C,B. adligum. lymum:
C,B. limum. 383) ðam: C. ðæm. ancor: C,B. ancor. ðær: B,C. ðe.
384) alige: B. halige. myngunge: C,B. myngunge. 386)
lybbende: C,B. libbende. 387) gelegered: C,B. gebeded.
389) and: C. om. ðisum: B. ðysum. hereberhtus: C. herebrihtus.
390) ær: Th. ǽr. geleornodon: B. gelernod.

bebẏrged • on lindisfarneiscre cẏrcan • þær wurdon
geworhte • wundra forwel fela • þurh geearnungum / his
eadigan lifes; þa gelicode hit • ðam leod biscope
eadberhte sẏlfum • his æfter/gengan • þæt he his
lichaman • up ða gelógode • on ðam endlẏftan geare • his
geen/dunge; þa wearð þæt hálige líc • hál on
eorðan gemét • gesundful licgende • swilce hé / slapende
wære • liðe bige on limum • swa swa hé geléd wæs;
400- Sẏ wuldor and lóf þam / welegan drihtne • seðe his
gecorenan • swa cýstelice wurðað • æfter deadlicum
life • / mid him lẏbbende • á • on ecnẏsse
ealra worulda • Amen:

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392) lindisfarneiscre: C,B. lindisfarnensiscere. cyrcan: C,B. circan. 393) forwel fela: C. for feala; B. for fela. geearnungum: C. gearnunga; B. geearnunga. biscope: B. bisceope. 396) lichaman: C. lichoman. gelogode: C. gelogade. 398) gesundful: B. gesundfull. licgende: C. lincgende. slapende: C,B. slæpende. 399) bige: C. bege. 401) gecorenan: B. gecorenum. 402) lybbende: C,B. libbende. 403) worulda: C. worulda woruld.

234^{v} III. IDi Novembris.

Depositio Sancti Martini Episcopi: /

Martinus se wuldorfulla godes andettere wæs acenned of æþelborenum / magum . on ðam earde þe is gehaten pannonia . on þære býrig þe is ge/cweden Sabaria. and he wæs siððan afed on Italia. þæt is Romana ríce; / His fæder wæs æðelboren ærest cempa. and siððan cempena ealdor. on hæðenscipe wuni/gende. and his gemæcca samod; Ða gestrýndon hí þone gecorenan godes cempan martinum./and hé mærlice geðeah; Witodlice ðaða he týn wintre on ylde wæs. ða árn hé to cýrcan / buton his freonda foresceawunge fulluhtes biddende. and hé wearð þa gecristnod./ and on wunderlicum gemete gecýrred. smeagende sýmle ýmbe godes cýrcan. and hu he / on westene wunian mihte; Þa asprang þæs caseres geban þæt ðara cempena / bearn þe forealdode wæron. wurdon genamode to ðam ýlcan gewinne þe heora / fæderas on wæron; Hwæt ða martinus wearð ameldod from his agenum fæder./ ðe on his weorcum ándode. and he wearð þa gelæht to þam laðum gecampe. and on / racenteagum gelæd. þa ða hé fýftýne geara

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4) þe is: C. ðas. 5) he: Th. hé. ærest: Th. ǽrest.
6) cempa: C. cæmpa. 8) cempena: C. cæmpena. wunigende: C. wuniende. gemæcca: C. gemeccea. 9) hi: C. hio.
10) tyn: C. teon. ylde: C. elde. 11) arn: Th. aren. buton: C. butan. 12) foresceawunge: C. foresceawungea.
12) gecyrred: C. gecerred. 14) cyrcan: C. circan. hu he: Th. hú hé. 15) cempena: C. cæmpena. 16) ylcan: Ilcan. 19) and: C. om. rancenteagum: C. racentegum. fyftyne geara: C. XV gæra.

wæs; Ænne cniht hé hæfde / to his ðenungum forð• ðam
he sýlf ðenode swa swiðe swa he him; Hé folgode / þam
casere ærest constantium • and siððan Iuliane • þam
wælhreowan wiðersacan • / and hé on ðam folgoðe ealle fulnýsse
forbeah • lybbende swa swa munuc • na swa/swa modig cempa; He
æteowode ða soðan lufe sýmle his geferum• and ormæte / eadmodnýsse
mid eallum geðýlde • and his efen cempan ða hine endemes wurðodon; /
He wæs swiðe geswǽs eallum swincendum• and on mislicum
yrmðum mannum geheolp; / wædligum and wanscrẏddum • and
wæs ðeah ða gẏt gefullod; þa gemette martinus / on middes
wintres cyle ænne nacodne ðearfan and his nán man ne gýmde •/
þeah ðe hé mid hreame ða riddan þæs bæde; / Ða næfde martinus
nán ðing / to sýllenne þam nacodan ðearfan • þe ðær swa
235r ðearle hrýmde buton his / gewædum þe hé wel behófode •
and hæfde ær his ðing þearfum gedælede; Hé ne mihte / swa
ðeah on his mode afindan • þæt he ðone nacodan mid nahte
ne gefrefrode •/ ac tocearf his basing on emtwa mid sexe, and sealde
oðerne dæl þam earman / wædlan, and mid þam ofcýrfe hine eft
bewæfde; / þa hlogon ða cempan sume ðæs / basinges • sume eac

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21) he: Th. hé. he him: Th. hé him. 22) constantium: C. constantinum. 23) fulnysse: C. fylnesse; Th. fulnysse. 24) swa: Th. om. cempa: C. cæmpa. 25) ða: Th. þa. lufe: C. lufa. symle: C. symfle. 26) his: C. hios. efen: C. eofem. 29) gyt: C. git. 31) þæs: Th. ðæs. Ða: C. þam. 32) syllenne: C. sellanne. nacodan: C. nacedan. 35) afindan: C. findan. ðone: Th. þone. nacodan: C. nacoden. 36) gefrefrode: C. frefrode. emtwa: Th. emtwá. emtwa mid sexe: C. mid sexe emtwa. 38) hlogon: C. hlogan. cempan: C. cæmpan. basinges: Th. básinges.

geomerodon swiðe on mode. þæt hí naht ðẏllices ðam ðearfan / ne begudon. ða ða hí éðelicor hine mihton scrẏdan; on þære ẏlcan nihte / æteowode Crist hine sẏlfne martine on swefne mid ðam basinge gescrẏdne. / and het hine sceawian gif he þa sẏlene on cneowe. and se hælend sona his englum/ðus sǽde; Martinus me bewæfde efne mid ðẏssere wǽde. þeah ðe hé unge/fullod gẏt farende sẏ; Martinus ða fægnode þære fægeran gesihðe. and wearð/þa gefullod forhraðe on criste ðaða he on ẏlde eahtatẏne geara wæs; / Æfter ðisum gelámp on ðære leode gewinn. þæt Iulianus se casere gecwæð to gefeohte. / and dælde his cempum cýnelice sẏlene. and hí on ðam gewinne werlice ongunnon; þa nolde martinus geniman his gife. ne on ðam gefeohte his handa afẏlan./ ac cwæð þæt he wolde Criste ðeowian. on gastlicum gecampe æfter his cristendome; Ða cwæð se wlhreowa þæt hé wære afẏrht for ðan toweardan gefeohte. na for / criste eawfæst; þa andwýrde martinus unforht ðam casere; Ic wille ðurhgán / orsorh ðone here mid rode tacne gewæpnod. na mid readum scẏlde. / oððe mid héfegum helme. oþþe heardre býrnan; Ða het se hæðena

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39) geomerodon: C. geomorodon. hi: C. hio. 40) begudon: C. gebudon. hi: C. hio. 41) þære: Th. ðære. ylcan: ilcan. æteowode: C. æteowde. 42) he: Th. hé. sylene: C. selene englum: C. ænglum. 45) gyt: Th. gýt. 47) eahtatyne: C. XVIII. 48) gewinn: C. gewin. 49) cempum: C. cæmpan. and hi: C,V. þæt hio. 50) werlice: C. wærlice. ongunnon: C. ongunne. geniman: Th. genı́man. 52) he: Th. hé. 55) wille: V. wylle.

cẏning / healdan martinum þæt hé wurde aworpen ungewæpnod
ðam here; / þa nolde se hælend his ðegen forlætan · ac
gesibbode þæt folc sona þæs on merien · / þæt hí to
þæs caseres cẏne gýrde gebugon; Hwæt ða martinus ðone
wælhreo/wan forlet · and beah to hilarium þam
gelæredan biscope · seð e ða on worulde / wuldorful wæs gehæfd ·
scinende swa swa tungel · on soðre lare; Mid ðam / he wunode on
weligre lare to langum fẏrste · oð þæt he his frẏnd geneosode / on
fẏrlenum earde · wolde hí feondum ætbredan · ðurh halwendum fullhute · /
ðeða gýt hæðene wunodon; Þa ða hé com to munton ða gemetton
hine sceaðan · / and heora án hine slóh mid æxe on his heafod;
He wearð þa gebunden · and / heora ánum betæht; Ða befrán se
sceaða þe hine on sundron heold hwæt / hé manna wære · oððe
235^{v} wære ofdræd; Martinus him to cwæð þæt hé cristen / wære ·
and on eallum his life næfre swa orsorh; Begánn ða to
secgenne þam sceaðan / geleafan · and mid boclicere lare hine
læran ongann; Hwæt ða se sceaða / sona gelẏfde on ðone
lifigendan god · and tolýsde ða bendas · his halwendan láreowes; /
and him swa filigde on eawfæstum ðeawum siððan á lýbbende;

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58) healdan: C. healdun. wurde: C. wurðe. 60) merien: C. mergen; merigen. hi: C. hio. 61) gyrde: C. gerde. 63) gelæredan: C. gelæredum. wuldorful: V. wuldorfull. 64) lare: Th. láre. he: Th. hé. 65) lare: Th. láre. he: Th. hé. frynd: C. freond. 66) hi: C. hio. 67) ðeða: C. þa ða. munton: C. muntan. 68) sceaðan: C. scaðan. heora: C. hiora. his heafod: C. þæt heafod. 69) gebunden: C,V. gebundan. heora: C. hiora. 70) sceaða: C. scaðe. sundron: C. sundrum. 72) life: Th. life. Began: C,V. began. 73) sceaðan: C. scaðan. 74) læran: Th. læran. ongann: C,V. ongan. sceaða: C. scaða. 75) lifigendan: C. lifiendan. bendas: C. bændas. lareowes: C. lareowas. 76) siððan: C. syððan. lybbende: C. libbende.

Æfter ðisum gemette / martinus þone deofol • se axode ardlice hwider hé siðode • sǽde þæt he wolde his / wiðerwinna beon on eallum his færelde • swa hwider swa hé ferde; Þa andwýrde / se halga sona ðan deofle • Ne ondrǽde ic ðe • Drihten is min gefýlsta and se / sceocca fordwán of his gesihðe ða; Martinus ða siððan siðode to his magum • / and awende his moder of mánfullum hæðenscipe • and manega hire to eacan eac / to gode gebigde • þeah ðe se fæder ána hæðen gilde wunode; Be ðam we magon / tocnawan þæt gehwilce geðeoð to heofenan rice • þeahðe heora frýnd losian/þa ða se mæra wer swa micclum geðeah • and his fæder forwearð on fulum hæðenscipe; / On ðam timan asprang Arrianes gedwýld wide geond eorðan • þam martinus / wiðfeaht oðþæt hé forwel oft ýfele wearð geswenct; Hé ðýgde unlýbban / eac on his mete • ac hé ða frecednýsse þæs þærlican attres mid gebedum / afligde • þurh fultum Drihtnes; Þa cýrde martinus ongean to hilarium / swa swa he mid wope hine georne bæd • þæt hé æfter ðam siðe • hine gesecan sceolde; / Hilarius ða eft mid estfullum mode hine underfeng • fagen his cýmes • and mar/tinus siððan him mýnster arǽrde • buton ðære býrig

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77) deofol: C. deoful. 78) he: Th. hé. beon: Th. beón.
81) sceocca: C. scucca. 82) siððan: C. syððan. siðode: C. syðode. moder: C,V. modor. 83) eacan: C. ecan. 84) gilda: V. gylda. ðam: C. ðon. 85) gehwilce: C. gehwylce. heofenan: C,V. heofonan. 86) heora: C. hiora. frynd: C. freond. þa ða: C,V. þa þa; Th. þe ða. micclum: C. miclum. 87) fulum: C. fullum. 89) asprang: Th. asprang. 90) ðygde: C,V. þigde. unlybban: C. unlibban. frecednysse: V. fræcednysse. þæs: Th. ðæs. 92) þa: Th. Ða. cyrde: C. cerde. he: Th. hé. wope: Th. wópe. 93) hine: V. om. 94) fagen: C,V. fægen. cymes: C. cynes. 95) siððan: V. syððan.

mid munuclicere / onbrẏrdnẏsse; Æfter ðisum geðeodde sum hæðen
wer him to• and se binnon / feawum dagum swa færlice swealt•
þæt he on fulluht underfangen wæs / forðan ðe martinus ða
on neawiste wæs• ac com ða to huse hearde gedre/fed• and him sẏlfne
100- astrehte • sona ofer ðone deadan • drihten biddende / þæt he
him líf sealde • and he wearð ða geedcucod æfter
lẏtlum fẏrste and sona gefullod • / gesundful leofode to
manegum gearum • and gewisslice sæde þæt hé wære gelæd to
leoht/leasre stowe • and swærlice geswenct on sweartum witum;
Ða comon þær fleogende / twegen fægre englas• and hine gelæddon
ongean to lífe for martines bene•/ swa swa hé bæd æt gode;
Sum ungesceadwis man hine sẏlfne aheng þæt hé fotum / span • and
his feorh forlét• þæt wearð ða mid wópe þam halgan were
gecẏdd • and hé / genealæhte þam lífleasan men •
236r 110- and hine unwurðne of deaðe arærde • / þurh his ðingrædene
wið þone soðan god; þæt turonisce folc hine ða geceas / him
to leod biscope• ðeah ðe he lange wiðcwæde • and of mẏnstere
nolde / nawar beon gemet • oðþæt sum fæmne hí facenlice híwode
sárlice seoce•/ and asende wið his; þa ferde martinus and

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96) onbryrdnysse: C. onbryrdnesse. C. ðisum: C. þissum.
97) and: V. om. færlice: Th. fǽrlice. swealt: V. for swealt. 98) wæs: C. nes. 100) he: Th. hé. 101) lif: Th. líf. geedcucod: V. edcudod. 103) gewisslice: C,V. gewislice. sæde: Th. sǽde. 104) geswenct: C. geswænct. 105) twegen: Th. twégen. englas: C. ænglas. 106) martines: C. martinus. bæd æt gode: C. æt gode bæd. 107) ungesceadwis: C. ungescadwis. sylfne: C. selfne. fotum: Th. fótum. 109) gecydd: C. gecyð. genealæhte: C. genealehte. 111) he lange: Th. hé lánge. 113) nawar: C. nahwar. beon: Th. beón. hi: C. hio. hiwode: C. gehiwode. 114) ferde martinus: V. martinus ferde.

þæt folc his cepte. and hine gelæhton swa / swa hí ǽr geleornodon ealle clẏpigende mid ánre stemne. þæt martinus wære / wẏrðe þæs hades. and þæt folc gesælig ðurh swilcne biscop; Hé wearð ða gehalgod / swa swa hí ealle gecuron. and ðone hád geheold mid soðre eadmodnẏsse on ðære / ẏlcan anrǽdnẏsse þe he ǽr on leofode; Hé heold his ðeawas swa swa healic / biscop. and his munelice ingehẏd swa þeah betwux mannum; Hé arǽrde him / munuc líf on micelre digelnýsse twa mila fram ðære ceastre turoniscre / ðeode; þæt mẏnster hé gelogode mid wellẏbbendum mannum. þæt wæron hund eahtatig / muneca. þe him anmodlice gehẏrdon. and him eallum wæron heora ðing gemæne. / æfter regollicere gesetnẏsse ne hí naht sẏnderlices næfdon; Næs heora / nánum alyfed on ðam life ænig cræft. buton halgum gebedum. and heora gewritum;/ Seo ẏld hí gebæd. and seo iuguð wrat; Sẏmle hí sæton ætsomne to gereorde. / næs þær wines drenc buton wannhalum mannum; Heora forwel fela wæron / mid wáces olfendes hærum to líce gescrẏdde. and þær laðode softnẏs; of ðam / mẏnstre geðugon æðele biscopas. þurh martines láre gehwilcum leodum; / þær

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115) hi: C. hio. ǽr: Th. ǽr. 116) clypigende: C,V. clypiende: stemne: C. stefne. 117) hades: Th. hádes. gesælig: C. gesælig wurðe. swilcne: C. swylcne. 118) hi: C. hio. gecuron: C. gecuran. 119) ylcan: C. ilcan. 120) anrædnysse: Th. ánrædnysse. he: Th. hé. 121) munelice: C. munulice. 122) micelre: C. mycelre. twa: Th. twá. 123) ceastre: C. cæstr. 124) wæron: C. wæreon. 125) anmodlice: Th. ánmodlice. gehyrdon: C. geherdon. 129) wrat: Th. wrát. symle: C. symble. hi: C. hio. 130) drenc: C. drænc. wannhalum: Th. wanhalum. 131) fela: C. feola. olfendes: C. oluendes. 132) softnys: C. softnes. 133) martines: C. martinus. gehwilcum: C. gehwylcum.

wæs ða gehæfd gehende ðære bẏrig swilce halig stow · mid healicum gedwẏlde / and weofod geset mid micclum wurðmẏnte swilce ðær gereste sum halig cẏðere; / þa befran martinus æt þam mæssepreostum ðæs martires naman · þe hí swa / micclum wurðodon; Ða nẏste heora nán his naman to secgenne · ne on / hwæs timan he ðrówunge underhnige; Hwæt ða se biscop mid his geb/roðrum ferde to þære ylcan stowe · and þone ælmihtigan bæd · þæt he ge/swutelode mid soðre gebicnunge · hwæne ðær swa mærne þæt mennisc wurðode; / þa wearð þær ætteowod an atelic sceadu on sweartum híwe · and sǽde þæt hé wære / for stale ofslegen · na for soðum geleafan · and wunode on wite mid wæl/hreawum sceaðum · for his mandædum na mid Drihtnes cẏðerum; Ða towende / se biscop þæt weofod sona · and þa dwollican socne mid ealle adwæscte; / Hit gelámp eac swilce on oðrum timan

236v þæt anre wẏdewan sunu wearð to deaðe / gebroht · and hrædlice gewát fram woruldlicum ricum; and se halga martinus for hine / gebæd on ðæs folces gesihðe · and hé sona arás to ðam lænan life þe hé ær forlet; / þurh ðam tácne gelẏfdon of ðære leode gehwilce on ðone lifigendan

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134) gehende: C. gehænde. swilce: C. swylce. 135) gedwylde: C. gedilde. swilce: C. swylce. 137) martires: C. martyres. micclum: C. miclum. 138) heora: C. hiora. he: Th. hé. 139) ðrówunge: Th. ðrowinge. underhnige: C. underfenge. ða: C. ða Martinus. 140) ylcan: C. ilcan. ælmihtigan: C. C. ælmihtigne. 141) geswutelode: C. geswutulode. begicnunge: C. bicnunge. ðær: C. hio ðær. 142) wurðode: C. warðode. 143) sceadu: C. sceaða. on. C. mid. 144) ofslegen: C. ofslægen; V. ofslogen. wælhreawum: C. wælhreowan. 145) sceaðum: C. scaðum. Drihtnes: C. Dryhtnes. cyðerum: C. om. 148) wydewan: C. wudewan. hrædlice: C. hwætlice. 149) ricum: Th. rícum. 151) life: Th. lífe. ær: Th. ǽr. 152) ðam: C. þæt. gehwilce: C. gehwylce. ðone: Th. þone. lifigendan: C. lifiendan; Th. lifigendan.

god / ðe hine to lífe arǽrde; On ðǽre ẏlcan bẏrig hé gehǽlde án mǽden / mid halwendum smẏrelse gehalgodes eles. þæt ðe fram childháde sẏmle ǽr / dumb wæs; He ferde eft siððan embe sumere neode . þa ofseah hé feorran ða hæðenan ferian án lic to eorðan . mid anþræcum gehlẏde . and hé ealle / gefæstnode heora fét to eorðan on ðǽre stowe þe hí steppende bæron / mid his strángan bene swilce mid bende; Hi tẏrndon mid bodige gebigedum / sceancum . and heora fótwẏlmas awendan ne mihton. oððæt se halga hí eft alẏsde./and lét hí forðgán. for his gódnẏsse; Se halga towearp eac sum hæðengẏld and / wolde aheawan ænne heahne pinbeam.se wæs ǽr gehalgod þam hæðenum godum; / Ða noldon ða hæðenan þam halgan geðafian. þæt he swa halig treow ǽfre hẏnan / sceolde; Cwæð þeah heora án þæt hé hit underfenge feallende to foldan.and hí / hit forcurfon. gif hé on God truwode þurh trumme geleafan; þa geþafode / martinus. þæt mid gebẏlde.and wearð gebunden under ðam beame geset ðider / ðe hé bigde mid healicum bógum.and næs him nán wen þæt hé ahwár wende buton / to ðam halgan swa swa hé ahẏld wæs; Hwæt ða ða hæðenan aheowon þæt treow./ mid ormætre blisse

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153) ðe: Th. þe. ylcan: C. ilcan. 154) smyrelse: C. smerwelse. 155) symle: C. symble. siððan: C. syððan. embe: C. ymbe. 157) lic: Th. líc. 158) bæron: C. abæron; Th. wæron. 159) swilce: C. swylce. bende: C. bænde. Hi: C. hio. 160) sceancum: C. scancum. 163) pinbeam: Th. pínbeam. ænne: V. anne. 168) gebylde: C. gebilde. under: C,V. and under. 170) ahwar: C.awær. swa swa ... ðam halgan (line 171): C. om.

þæt hit brastliende sáh to ðam halgan were hetelice / swiðe; þa worhte hé ongean ðam hreosendum treowe þæs hælendes ródetácn • / and hit ðærrihte ætstód • wende ða ongean • and hreas underbæc • and fornean / offeoll ða ðe hit ær forcurfon; þa awurpon ða hæðenan sona heora / gedwýld • and to heora scyppende sæmtinges gebugon mid micclum geleafan / þurh martines láre; Eft hé ontende sum hæðen templ • ða gewende se líg ðurh / þæs windes blæd to sumes mannes huse ðe þær gehende stód • ac martinus / astáh on ðam sticelan hrofe • and sette hine sýlfne ongean ðam swegendum líge • / and he sona ðreow ðwýres wið þæs windes mid micclum gewinne for ðæs weres / mihte • and wæs ða geholpen ðam unscýldigum huse; Gelome he towearp ge/hwær hæðengýld • þa wolde he æne án eald hús tocwýsan þe wæs mid ge/dwýlde deoflum gehalgod • ac
237r mennisce handa hit ne mihton towurpan • / forðam fæstum gefege þæs feondlican temples; þa comon ðær fleogende færlice / englas of healicre heofenan • and hí þæt hús towurpon • þurh gastlicne cræft • ðam / gódan to blisse; Sum hæðen man wolde hine acwellan mid atogenum swurde • and se halga aleat •

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175) forneau: C. forneah. offeoll: C. offeol. ðaðe: C. ðaða
176) gedwyld: C. gedwild. 178) martines: C. martinus. templ: C. tempel. ða: Th. þa. 179) gewende: C. gewænde. windes: C. liftes. 180) gehende: C. gehænde. 184) he: Th. hé. hæðengyld: C. hæðengild. 185) gedwylde: C. gedwilde 186) towurpan: C. toweorpan. 187) færlice: Th. færlice. 188) englas: C. ænglas. healicre: C. healicere. heofenan: C. heofona. 190) atogenum: Th. atógenum.

and astrehte his swuran under ðam scinendan brande · ða feoll / se cwellere afẏrht underbæc árleas oð þæt · and ða bæd forgifenẏsse gecnæwe / his mánes to ðam mæran were; Eac sum oðer árleas hine wolde slean on his / halgan heafde mid heardum isene · ac þæt wæpen wánd aweg mid þam slege of þæs / reðan handum þe hine hẏnan wolde; Sum mæden hé gehælde mid gehalgodum / ele · þæt þe lánglice læg on leger bedde seoc · toslopen on limum samcucu geðuht · / and arás ða gesund on gesihðe þæs folces; Tetradius hatte sum hæðen
200- þegen / his ðeow cnapena án wearð þearle awed · þa sette martinus his handa him / on uppon · and se feond fleah forht for ðam halgan · and se ðeowa siððan gesund/ful leofode · and his hlaford beah mid geleafan to gode mid eallum his hirede · / þe ærðan hæðen wæs; Martinus eac com to anes mannes huse his cnapa wæs / awed wunderlice ðurh deofol, and árn him togeanes mid gẏniendum muðe; / þa bestáng se halga his hand him om múð · het hine ceowan

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191) ðam: C. þone. brande: C. bran. ða: Th. þa. / feoll: C. feol. 193) mæran: C. mære. 194) slean: Th. sleán. 196) hynan: C. henan. 197) gehalgodum: C. gehalgodan. þe: Th. ðe. 200) cnapena: C. cnapæna. 202) siððan: C. syððan. 205: deofol: C. deoful. 206) gyniendum: C. geoniendum.

mid scearpum toðum·/ his liðegan fingras· gif him alẏfed wære; Se wóda ða awende aweg his ceaflas / fram ðære halgan handa· swilce fram hátum isene·and se awẏrgeda gast gewát of ðam / men út ðurh his gesceapu·mid scandlicum fleame; Martinus gelacnode / mid ænlipium cosse ænne hreoflinne mannum fram his micclan coðe· and / fram atelicum híwe his unsmeðan lices; Manega eac wurdon mettrume gehǽlede þurh his reafes hrepunge· swa swa hit geræd is; Sumes gerefan dohtor / hé ahredde fram fefore ðurh his ærend gewrite· þe heo adlig underfenge; Eft / æt sumum sæle ætslad se halga wer on ðam healicum gradum æt þam halgum / weofode· swa þæt he fornean eal wearð tocwẏsed ac on þære nihte hine gelac/node god ðurh his halgan engel to ansundre hæle; Oft hine geneosodon / englas of heofenum· and cuðlice to spræcon for his clænan lífe; Seo halige / Maria eac swilce gecom to ðam halgan were on sumere tide mid twam apostolum· / Petre and Paule· mid twám mædenum· Tecla·and Agna· and mid hire geneosunge / hine gearwurðode· and micclum gehẏrte· þurh hire

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208) liðegan: C. leoðian. alyfed: C. alefed. 210) awyrgeda: C.awergeda. 213) hreoflinne: C. hreoflicne. micclan: C. myclan. 216) dohtor: C. dohter. 217) ðurh: Th. þurh. 218) heo: C. hio. ætslad: Th. ætslád. 220) he: Th. hé. fornean: C. forneah. eal: V. eall. 221) engel: C. engle. 222) geneosodon englas: C. geneosodan ænglas. 223) heofenum: C. heofonum. 224) swilce: C. swylce. gecom: C. com. were: C. wære. 226) hire: C. hira.

237v andwerdnẏsse; Eac se halga / biscop geseah gelóme þa awẏrigedan
deoflu mid mislicum gedwẏmorum; / Hé nateshwón ne
230- ondred heora deofellican híw. ne hé næs bepæht
ðurh / heora leasungum; Hwílon com se deofol on anre
digelnẏsse mid purpuran / gescrẏd and mid helme
geglengd to ðam halgan were þær hé hine gebæd.
and cwæð þæt he / wære witodlice se hælend; þa
beseah martinus wið þæs sceoccan leoht. gemẏndig / on
mode hú se metoda drihten cwæð on his godspelle be
his godcundan to / cẏme. and cwæð to ðam leasan mid
gebæredum muðe; Ne sǽde ure hælend þæt he / swa wolde
beon mid purpuran gehíwod. oþþe mid helme scínende.
240- þonne hé / eft come mid engla ðrẏmme; Ða fordwán se deofol
dreorig him fram. and seo / stow ða stánc mid ormætum
stence. æfter andwerdnẏsse þæs egeslican gastes; /
Martinus se halga scean on witegunge. and mannum wite
gode manega towearde ðing. / ðe wæron gefẏllede swa swa
hé foresǽde; Hwílon æt his mæssan men gesawon /
scínan færlice æt his hnolle swilce fẏren clẏwen.
swa þæt se scínenda líg his loce up/ateah; He wolde

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228) andwerdnysse: C. andwearðnysse; awyrigedan: C. awerigedan. 229) gedwymorum: C. gedwimerum. 230) heora deofellican: C. hiora deofollican. 231) heora: C. C. hiora. 232) digelnysse: C. degolnesse. gescryd: C. gescrid. 233) geglengd: C. geglænged. 235) sceoccan: C. scuccan. gemyndig: C. and wæs gemyndig. 236) metoda: C,V. meótoda. 237) to cyme V. to cúme. 238) gebæredum: Th. gebǽredum. 239) beon: Th. beón. behiwod: C. gehiwed. 240) engla: C. ængla. 242) stence: C. stænce. 243) scean: C. scan; Th. scean. witegunge: V. witegunga. 245) foresæde: Th. foresǽde. 246) færlice: C. om. swilce: C. swylce. clywen: V. cliwen. 247) loce: C,V. loc.

geneosian summe adligne mannan æt sumon sæle • se
hatte / Euantius• ac hé wearð gehæled• ǽr se halga
250- come into his huse• þurh þæs / hælendes gife; þa
wæs ðær án cnapa geættrod þurh næddran swiðe /
toswollen • þurh ðæs wẏrmes slege• unwene his lífes •
ac he wearð ahredde / þurh Martines hrepunge fram ðam
reðan attre; Se eadmoda biscop • /ðe we ymbe sprecað
wæs swiðe geðẏldig wið þwẏrum mannum• and him ne eglede /
heora hospspræc • ac forbær bliðelice ðeah ðe him
man bẏsmor cwæde; / Hé nolde olæcan ænigum rican
mid geswæsum wordum• ne eac soð forsuwian; / Gif him
ænig heafod man hwilces ðinges forwẏrnde•ðonne wende
260- he to gode / mid gewunelicum gebedum• and him sona getiðode
his scẏppendes arfæstnẏs / þæs ðe se woruld rica him
forwẏrnde on ǽr; / Hit gelámp hwílon þæt an / wód
man gesǽt þær ðær se eadiga wer hine ǽr gereste •
and he wearð gewittig / ðurh þæs weres geearnungum
þe on ǽr þæt setl swa gebletsode; Menn hé / gehǽlde
fram mislicum coðum • and eac swilce nẏtenum læcedom
forgeafe / ahredde fram wódnẏsse• and hét faran aweg

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248) mannan: C. man. 253) ahredde: Th. ahrede. Martines: C. Martinus. 254) ðe: Th. þe. ymbe: V. embe. 255) þwyrum: C. þwirum eglede: C. eglode; V. egelode. 256) ðeah: Th. þeah. 257) bysmor: C. bismor. rican: Th. rícan. 259) ðinges: Th. þinges. hwilces: C. hwylces. 260) he: Th. hé. 261) scyppendes: C. sceppendes. 265) Menn: mæn. 266) swilce: C. swylce. 267) forgeafe: Th. forgeaf. ahredde: C. aredde. aweg: C. on weg.

to þære eowode þe hí of adwe/lodon; Swa micel mildheortnẏs wæs on martine. þæt hé hét hwilon ða / hundas ætstandan. þe urnon on ðam ræse deorum getenge. and 238r ahredde / ða deor fram andwerdum deaðe; Sum earm wif wæs eallunge geswenct þurh/blodes gẏte. and heo ongann hreppan þæs halgan gewædu. and wearð sona hál; / Ne mage we awritan ealle his wundra on ðisum scortan cwẏde mid cuðum / gereorde. ac we wẏllað secgan hú se soðfæsta gewát;

DE EIUS OBITU:

Martinus se eadiga wiste his geendunge gefýrn. ǽr hé ferde fram eallum / frecednẏssum ðises lænan lífes to his leofan drihtne. and hé cẏdde his / forðsið sumum his gebroðrum; þæron on ðam timan ungeðwære / preostas on ánum his mẏnstra; ða he wolde sibbian. ǽr his forðsiðe. / and ðider siðode; Ða geseah he swẏmman scealfran on flode. and gelome / doppettan. adúne to grunde. ehtende ðearle þære éá fixa; þa cwæð / se halga wer to his geferan; þas fugelas habbað feonda gelicnẏsse. ðe ge/hwilce menn unwære beswicað.

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268) eowode: C. eowde. micel: C. mycel. 270) ðam: C. ð. getenge: C. getænge. 272) geswenct: C. geswænct. ongann: C. ongan. 274) ðisum: V. ðysum. 275) wylla : C. willa . secgan: C. sæcgan. 277) De eius Obitu: V. om. 280) drihtne: C. dryhtne: 281) þæron: C.V.Th. þa wæron. 282) mynstra: C. mynstre. 283) ðider: C. ðidor. swymman: C,V. swimman. 284) gelome: Th. gelóme. 286) geferan: C. geferum. 287) gehwilce menn: C. gehwylce men.

and grædelice gripað to grimre helle; Þa het /
martinus ða mæðleasan fugelas• ðæs fixnoðes geswican•
290- and to westene siðian, / and ða scealfran gewiton•aweg to
holte• ealle endemes• and ða éá forleton• be mar/tines
hæse þæs mæran weres; Æfter ðisum becom se
biscop to ðam mẏnstre• / and ða ungeðwæran preostas
ðreade for gẏltum• and on sibbe gebrohte mid geswæsre /
láre; Ða wearð hé geuntrumod eallum lẏmum and sæde
his gẏngrum þæt hé sceolde / gewítan; þa wurdon hí
ealle endemes astẏrede• and mid micelre heofunge /
hine befrinon; Hwí forlætst þu fæder• ðine fostor
cild? Oððe wham be/tæhst ðu ús nu forlætene?
300- Soðlice becumað ungesewenlice wulfas to ðinre /
eowode• and hwá bewerað hí? We witon þæt
ðu gewilnast• to ðam wuldorfullan / drihtne• ac þe sind
gehealdene ðine meda gewisse• gemiltsa ús swiðor•
and / swa gýt ne forlæt• Martinus ða wende mid ðisum
wordum to gode• Ne wiðcweðe ic / drihten• to deofenne
gýt• gif ic nẏdbehefe eom gýt ðinum folce, ne ic ne
beládige / gýt me for ẏlde• beo ðin willa á• weroda

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288) Ða: Th. þa het: Th. hét. 289) mæðleasan: C. æðleasan.
fugelas: C. scealfran 290) scealfran: C,V. fugelas.
292) endemes: C. ændemes. 295) lymum: C. limum; V. leomum.
296) gyngrum C. gingrum. sceolde: C,V. scolde. 298)
Hwi: C. hwy. fostor: Th. foster. oððe: Th. oþþe.
301) eowode: C,V. eowde. hi: C. hio. 303) meda: C. mede.
gemiltsa: C. gemildsa. 306) nydbehefe: C. neodbehefe;
Th. nydbehefe. eom: Th. com. ðinum: C. ðine. folce:
C. om.. ne ic ne: C. ic ne. 307) ylde: C. elde.

Drihten; Æfter ðisum gebede hé abád / on ðam legere
ane feawa dagas mid fefore gewæht • þurh wacolon
310- gebedum • / on flore licgende • bestreowod mid axum •
on stiðre hæran up ahafenum eagum • / and handum to heofenum •
and ne geswac his gebeda • oð þæt he sawlode; He geseah
ðone / deofol standan swiðe gehende • and hine orsorhlice
axian ongann; þu wæl/hreowe nẏten to hwí stenst
238v ðu þ us gehende? Ne gemetst þu on me • aht / witniendlices •
Me soðlice underfehð se heahfæder Abraham into his
wu/nunge on ecere wẏnne; Æfter ðisum worde gewát
seo sawul of ðam geswenctan / lichaman sona to gode; Hwæt
ða gehẏrdon gehwilce on life halige englas / singan on
320- his forðsiðe bliðe on heofenum þus halgan to cẏmes;
His líc / wearð gesewen sona on wuldre • beorhtre ðonne
glæs • hwíttre ðonne meoloc • and his / andwlita scean
swiðor þonne leoht • þaiú gewuldrod to ðam toweardan /
Criste; Hundeahtatig geara hé wæs on his lífe •
ðaða he of worulde gewat / to heofenum; Eala hwilc
heofung holdra • and geleaffulra • hlude ða swegde / and
swiðost þæra muneca • and mẏnecena wóp • on martines

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310) axum: C. axam. 311) hæran: Th. hǽran. up ahafenum Th. úp aháfenum. heofenum: C,V. heofonum. he: Th. hé. 312) sawlode: C. sauwlode. He: Th. hé. 313) ðone: Th. þone. standan: Th. stándan. gehende: C. gehænde. 314) ongann: C,V. ongan. wælhreowe: C. wællhreowa. hwi stentst: C. hwy stæntstu 315) ðu þus gehende: C. swa gehænde. gemetst: C. gemetest. 316) Me: C. om. 317) ecere: C. eccre. ðisum: V. þysum. 318) geswenctan: C. geswænctan. 319) gehwilce: C. gehwylce. life: Th. lífe. englas: C. ænglas. 320) heofenum: C,V. heofonum. 322) ðonne: C. ðonn. scean: C. scan; Th. scean. 323) iu: C. om. 324) hundeahtatig geara: C. hundeahtig gæra. 325) worulde: C. weorulde. heofenum: C,V. heofonum. hwilc: C. hwylc. 326) geleaffulra: C. geleafra. swegde: C. swægde 327) muneca: C. munuca. martines: C. martinus.

deaðe; Is eac / to gehýrenne hú ða leoda wunnon • ýmbe þæs halgan líc him betwýnan / þearle; Seo burhwaru wolde ðe he on biscop wæs • þæt sind Turonisce • / ðone halgan geníman • and Pictauienscisce þearle wiðcwædon • woldon / habban ðone ýlcan þe hi ǽr alǽndon to ðam biscopdome • of heora burh/scíre • cwædon þæt hé wære heora munuc æt fruman • and woldon hine habban / huru swa deadne; Betwux ðisum gewinne wearð se dæg geendod • and butu ða / burhwara besæton ðone halgan; Þa on middere nihte • gewurdon on slæpe / Pictauienscisce • beþæhte for swiðe • þæt of ealre ðære menigu • án man ne wacode; / Hwæt ða Turonisce þone halgan gelæhton • and to scipe bæron mid swiðlicere / blisse • and mid gastlicum sange þone sanct ferodon • to ðære ýlcan býrig / þe hé on biscop wæs; Ða wurdon ða oðre awrehte mid þam sange • and ge/cýrdon him hám hearde ofsceamode; On ðisum dæge gewát se halga wer / to gode • mærlice

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228) deaðe: C. deað ymbe: V. embe. 229) betwynan: C. betweonan. burhwara: C. burhware. 331) geniman: C. genioman. 332) hi: C. hio; Th. hi. 335) wearð: C. gewearð. 236) burhwara: C. burhwaru. 338) ealre: C. eallre. menigu: C. meniu. 340) swiðlicere: C. swiðlere. 341) ylcan: C. ilcan. 342) biscop: C. byscop. 343) him: C. hiom. ofsceamode: C. ofscamede.

of worulde. mid micclum wundrum geglencged;
Uton hine / biddan þæt hé ús ðingige to þam lifigendan
gode. ðe hé on lífe gecwémde; Sẏ ðam á wuldor
on ecere worulde. ðe leofað and rixað þurh hine sẏlfne /
god; Amen:

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345) micclum: C. miclum. geglencged: C. geglænged. 346) ðingige: C. ðingie. lifigendan: C. lifiendan. 347) Sy C. syo.

NOTES

The following are notes for the Life of St. Gregory. The sources most often referred to will be found in the following abbreviations:

Bede -- Unless otherwise indicated, the quotations are from The Ecclesiastical History in either the Latin edition by Plummer or the modern English translation by Sellar.

Bosworth -- Bosworth, Joseph and T. N. Toller. An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Oxford, 1898. Supplement, 1921.

Dictionary of Christian Biography -- Smith, W. and H. Wace, ed. Dictionary of Christian Biography. 4 vols. London, 1877-1887.

Dudden -- Dudden, F. Holmes. Gregory the Great. London, 1905.

E.& H. -- Ewald, Paulus and Ludovicus Hartmann. Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum. Berlin, 1891.

History of the French -- Gregory of Tours. Historia Francorum. Patrologia Latina, LXXI, 161-572. Translated by O. M. Dalton. Oxford, 1927.

Howorth -- Howorth, Henry H. Gregory the Great. London, 1912.

John the Deacon -- John the Deacon. Vita Gregorii. Patrologia Latina, LXXV, 59-242.

Plummer -- Plummer, Charles, ed. Historia Ecclesiastica Venerabilis Baedae. Oxford, 1896. Translated by A. M. Sellar. London, 1907.

St. Gregory

Line 3) *Gregorius se hálga papa*: Gregory's pontificate extended from September 3, 590, to March 12, 604. His feast is March 12.

10) *Historia Anglorum*: Ælfric, as is his custom at this point in the homilies, gives his main source. Here it is Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Anglorum*, edited by Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1896). There was an Old English translation undertaken at Alfred's direction and available in a modern edition by G. F. Browne (New York, 1920). The most useful modern translation is by A. M. Sellar (London, 1907).

16-17) *wæs of æðelborenre mægðe and eawfæstre acenned*: Some historians claim that Gregory's family was the famous *Anicia gens* from which came Boethius, several consuls of Rome, two popes, Felix III (483-492) and Agapetus (535-536), and perhaps St. Benedict. Both Howorth and Dudden are dubious that his forefathers are this distinguished. (F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great* (London, 1905), I, 4; Henry H. Howorth, *St. Gregory the Great* (London, 1912), p. 4.)

18) *his fæder hatte Gordianus*: His parents were named Gordianus and Silvia. It seems that his father had an imperial office, but his exact rank cannot be determined. He was most likely a secular official--charged with the administration of secular business in one of the seven Ecclesiastical Regions. It is apparent that he was wealthy and the

owner of large estates in Sicily and an expensive mansion on the Caelian Hill in Rome.

Silvia, Gregory's mother, was also from wealthy parentage and became famous for her piety. After the death of her husband she retired to a life of seclusion, as John the Deacon reports (*Vita Gregorii*, *Pat*. *Lat*., LXXV, 59-242.).

Gregory commissioned a painting of his parents for the atrium of St. Andrew's Monastery, in Rome. This was later destroyed, but there remain detailed descriptions by John the Deacon (*Vita*, IV, 83) and Angelo Rocco (*Pat*. *Lat*. LXXV, 463), who both saw it about three hundred years after its completion. For a discussion and description, see Dudden, I, 6-9.

19) *Fifta fæder*: Thorpe simply translates this phrase as "fifth father." Bosworth, quoting the line, and apparently taking it literally, translates it and comments "reckoning Gregory's father as the first generation, his fifth father would be his great grandfather's grandfather." Dudden conjectures that the pope was Felix III (483-492) or Felix IV (526-530) and does not hesitate to consider the statement literally (I,4-5). Sellar alone seems concerned about the presumed celibacy of the pope and thinks the word *atavus* (the term used by all Gregory's Lation biographers) "cannot be used in its strict sense." (Cf. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England*, trans. and ed. A. M. Sellar (London, 1907), p. 76).

23) Gregorius is Grecisc nama: This is probably a double pun. The grec - greg similarity is relevant as well as the Greek meaning. This punning is in keeping with what we see later of Gregory's own proclivity for puns. Most of Gregory's biographers refer to his "watchfulness." We find it in John the Deacon (*Vita*, I,2). Bede, following Jerome, has given a list of interpretations of names, both scriptural and historical, and says of Gregory that he was "Vigilantissimus, juxta suum nomen, nostrae gentis apostolus" (*Opera*, X, 258.). Bede also makes references to watchfulness in his life of Gregory when he says "Erga salvationem nostrae gentis invigilaverit"(*Ecc*. *Hist*. I, 30). Gregory himself seemed fond of punning on his own name; see especially *Epp*. I, iii, 52. He even seems inclined to inculcate the virtue of watchfulness (Cf. *Moralia* xix, 33; xx, 8; xxxi,85; Dudden, I,8).

28-29) Hé wæs fram childháde on bóclicum lárum getýd: Gregory's training was for law and not for the arts. He manifested a capacity for business and practical affairs. He did not know Greek and did not show any taste for the humanities (Howorth, p. 8; Dudden, I, 59-79). Though Paul the Deacon and Gregory of Tours tell us that he was deemed the finest in Rome at the arts of grammar, Rhetoric, and dialectic, there is no such evidence in his Latin style. Possibly they were overstepping themselves in their praise.

In a letter to a friend, Bishop Leander, Gregory says that he took little heed of niceties of style. "Unde et ipsam loquendi artem, quam magisteria disciplinae exterioris insinuant, serverare despexi. Nam sicut huius quoque epistolae tenor enuntiat, non metacismi quoque epistolae tenor enuntiat, non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, situs modosque et praepositionem casus servare contemno, quia indignum vehementer existimo, ut verba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati." (The letters of Gregory have been edited by Paul Ewald and Louis M. Hartman (Berlin, 1891), 2 vols. They are designated here by book and letter. Thus v, 3 is Book v, letter 3. I have also given volume and page number where I quote the text. The above quotation is I, v. 53, p. 357.) There is no English translation of the complete letters, though selected letters have been edited by James Barmby (London, 1895).

27) and him: The fragmentary MS V stops here and begins again at line 265 to the end.

30) on ealre Romana byrig: Gregory is called Roman by his biographers, but his mother was probably Sicilian, by fortune at least, since he inherited large estates on that island and the monasteries he founded there are said to have been planted on his mother's property (Howorth, p. 6-7; Dudden, I, 4). His letters also show how solicitous he was about Sicilian affairs (Dudden, I, 4). He was, however, born

in Rome, about the year 540.

40) *Witodlice æfter his fæder forðsiðe*: Gregory's father died about the year 575 and immediately afterward Gregory turned his family home on the Clivus Scauri of the Caelian Hill into a monastery and dedicated it to St. Andrew. Gregory then lived there as a monk under the rule of an abbot. He also provided for the founding of monasteries in Sicily on his family property. These monasteries can now be identified in Sicily with: the Monastery of St. Hadrian, the Monastery of St. Hermas, of Sts. Maximus and Agatha, of St. Theodore, the Praetorian Monastery, and the Nunnery of St. Martin (Cf. Rocco Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, 1723, pp. 1301-1308; Dudden, I, 106.).

46) *þone ofer éacan*: In his translation of this phrase, Thorpe leaves out the transitional word *then*.

49-50) *mid pællenum gẏrlum and scinendum gẏmmum*: Before his conversion Gregory was nominated Urban Praetor or, perhaps, Urban Praefect of Rome by Emperor Justin II (reigned 565-578). There are several references to his office in John the Deacon (*Vita*, I, 4) and in Gregory's own letters (E. & H. iv, 2; I, 233), where he says that he signed the *cautio* given by Laurentius when he became Bishop of Milan on January 22, 573. He says that "Ego quoque tunc urbanum praefecturam gerens pariter subscripsi" (Cf. Howorth, 9). As praefect, Gregory probably used the insignia of a consul and had the right to wear the purple striped robe (*trabea*). The duties of Urban Praefect were onerous and manifold. The management of all the important affairs in the city was under his control. The care of the grain supplies, the distribution of free doles, the repair of aqueducts, baths, sewers, banks, and bed of the Tiber devolved ultimately on him (Dudden I, 102). These were trying times for the Romans and among the difficulties Gregory encountered in his office was the invasion of the Lombards, who cut off communications with Constantinople. The Pope, John, died during this time and the young prefect had to act alone. Dudden remarks "Perhaps it was the strain to which he was subject at this time that gave Gregory a thorough distaste for office. Such a conviction gained, at any rate, an increasing hold upon his mind, until at last, after long consideration, he determined to abandon everything and become a monk" (I, 104).

57) *wæccan*: Thorpe regularly translates this word as *watching*. *Vigil* would be better since it includes the notion of sitting up all night in prayer.

59) *mid andwerdum untrumnýssum ofsett wæs*: This was probably stomach trouble from the eating of too many raw vegetables (Dudden I, 118).

64-65) *him to gefýlstan gesette*: Gregory stayed in the monastery for three years (Dudden, I, 119). Eventually, perhaps in 578, Pope Benedict I (reigned 575-579) appointed Gregory as one of the seven regionary deacons of Rome. As such, he presided over the administration of alms; his office involved him in the administration of one of the seven ecclesiastical regions into which Rome was divided. Gregory of Tours refers to him as the seventh levite, perhaps because he was attached to the seventh district. This appointment, as the later election as pope, Gregory found against his inclination for the austerity of the monastic life. The same pope also made him papal representative or *nuncio* at the Imperial Court of Constantine (Howorth, p. 13).

68) *englisce cẏpmenn*: Thorpe's "English chapmen" is archaic; the phrase could better be rendered as "English merchants."

70) *cẏpe cnihtas gesette*: Ælfric takes this story from Bede. It was during Gregory's term as papal secretary that this doubtful story concerning the Anglian slave boys from Britain was assigned to him.

It seems from Gregory's letters that he had other plans for the conversion of the English, regardless of the legend of the slaves. Plummer quotes a letter to Candidus (*Ecc. Hist*. II, 37) in which he wants money devoted for purchasing "pueros Anglos, qui sunt ab annis decem et septem vel decem et octo, ut in monasteriis dati Deo proficiant." These boys, when ordained, would be sent as missionaries to England. Bede reports the same plan executed under the direction of Aidan (III,5).

Plummer seems to take the story of the slaves at face value (II, 72). He gives a tradition that the number was fixed at three and reports the date as 585-588. In Bede they are also called slaves, but in the *Life of Gregory the Great* by an anonymous monk of Whitby (edited by C. Jones, 1960) they are nobles, not slaves.

89) *Dere*: This is *Deire* or *Deira*. It is the southern of two Anglo-Saxon kingdoms which together formed Northumbria. The first recorded king of Deira is Ælli, who reigned about 560-590. There is a tradition that after his death, Deira was ruled by Æthlric of Bernicia, and his son, Æthelfrith, joined the two kingdoms. Information on the area is scarce and is all found in Bede I, 44; II, 1, 12; III, 4, 14, 23, 28 (Cf. the article by Dorothy Whitelock in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1965).

In order to understand Gregory's pun, the spelling *Deira* must be preserved; Ælfric's *Dere* spoils it.

98-99) *eode to ðam papan*: It is not clear which pope Gregory approached. Sellar points out two possibilities (p. 83). It was either Benedict I (574-578) or Pelagius II (578-590), Gregory's immediate predecessor. The life by the monk of Whitby and John the Deacon identify the pope as Benedict; Paul the Deacon records that it was Pelagius II.

109) *micel mann cwealm become*: Gregory of Tours reports (*History of the French*, X, 1) that in November 589, the

Tiber overflowed its banks and destroyed many ancient buildings and overwhelmed some of the Church's granaries on the banks of the river, causing the loss of many thousands of bushels of wheat. This is one of a series of inundations which, according to Paul the Deacon, were followed by a pestilence known as the *lues inguinaria*, also called the Oriental Plague, which had been afflicting Eastern Europe for fifty years. In addition, Gregory reports,"A multitude of serpents swam down the course of the river to the sea, among them a great dragon, large as a stout beam, but all were drowned in the salt waves of the stormy sea, and cast up on the shore." Gregory of Tours' account comes from his agent, an eyewitness, the only first hand account we have of the incident (Howorth, p. 93).

Pope Pelagius, one of the victims of the plague, died on the seventh or eighth of February, 590 (Howorth, p. 29). His place in the apostolic succession in relation to Gregory can be seen from this list of popes:

Pelagius I	556-561
John III	561-574
Benedict I	575-579
Pelagius II	579-590
Gregory I	590-604

117) *mid eallum mægne wiðerigende wære*: This is the customary humility of the medieval saints before the honors of ecclesiastical office, which we see in the lives of Cuthbert

and Martin among others. There can be, however, no doubt about Gregory's sincerity, though Gibbon jeers at it (Howorth, p. 30). He had already given up wealth and rank to adopt a life of deprivation and harsh austerity. His letters to personal friends are full of his misgivings over his worthiness and contain gentle rebukes at their congratulations. Among these see E. & H. i, 6; i, 30; i, 41. A particularly poignant example is a letter dated February, 591, to Andrew (Andreae Illustri) at Constantinople (E. & H. i, 29; I, 42). "Omnipotens Deus dulcissimo cordi vestro indicet, quia et absens corpore a caritate vestra animo non recessi. Bona enim vestra, etiam si volo, oblivisci non valeo. Hoc autem quod me ad episcopatus ordinem cognoscitis pervenisse, si me diligitis, plangite; quia tantae hic hius mundi occupationes sunt uti per episcopatus ordinem pene ab amore Dei me videam esse separatum. Quod incessanter defleo, atque ut pro me Dominum exoretis rogo."

118-119) *Ðam casere Mauricum*: This was the Byzantine Emperor Mauricius Flavius Tiberius who ruled 582-602. He was of Roman descent, born in Cappadocia; he was made emperor by Tiberius II and married (582) Tiberius' daughter Constantina. He succeeded to an impoverished throne and his reign was full of unrest and threats of invasions from the Persians and Avars. He eventually concluded his Persian war with great success (591) and with the help of his general Priscus, defeated the Avars several times (598-601). However, his end was not happy. Faced by a mutiny of his Danube army, he was forced to abdicate his throne and was killed by Phocas. Ironically, though he was partially responsible for Gregory's ascent to the papal throne, Gregory was to become one of his chief headaches. The two were involved in several secular-ecclesiastical jurisdictional squabbles. The most significant, and one which has a curious relevance to Gregory's own career, was over a law enacted in 593 by Mauricius which forbad from retiring into monasteries soldiers or those persons who were obliged to public duties. (Cf. Dictionary of Christian Biography; J. B. Bury Later Roman Empire (London, 1889), vol 2; N. H. Baynes Cambridge Medieval History (London, 1913), vol 2, chap. 9).

119) his gefædera: J. W. Bright, citing Gregory of Tours, explains that Gregory stood sponsor to one of the sons of the Emperor Mauricius and therefore held the relation of competer (gossip or godfather) to the Emperor himself (Anglo-Saxon Reader (New York, 1965), p. 215).

125) Germanus: The story of Germanus' interception seems to be accurate (Howorth, p. 34). Then prefect of Rome, he intercepted the letter to Mauricius and wrote one of his own to press on the Emperor the duty of giving the Church a strong hand in these woeful times.

135) Mine gebroðra þa leofostan: This speech to the people after the plague is also reported by the witness of Gregory

of Tours; the speech here is a paraphrase of the longer report in the *History of the French*, X, 1. For a more complete account, see Dudden, I, 219; Howorth, p. 93; E. & H. v. 24.

159) *Uton ahebban ure heortan*: Jer. iii. 41. This and the following quotations do not correspond to the Vulgate Latin. They are, however, identical with the quotations in Gregory of Tours, which Ælfric seems to have copied verbatim.

163) *Nẏlle ic þæs sẏnfullan deað*: Ezek. xxiii. 11.

166) *niniueiscre ðeode*: This is a reference to the people of Nineveh who were converted after Job's preaching. It is apparent that the *Book of Job* had considerable appeal for Gregory. His most important work, the *Moralia*, is a rather extensive commentary on that work. Cf. the note to line 306.

179) *Clẏpa me on dæg ge ðinre gedrefednẏsse*: Psalm xlix. 15. In all of these scriptural quotations, Gregory is following the traditional Christian practice of likening the Christian community in distress to the Hebrew nation beset by its oppressors. The Hebrew supplications then appropriately suit the Christian situation.

186) *laetanias*: A unique occurrence in these MSS of a non-ligatured *ae*, most probably taken from a Latin spelling.

191-192) *to ðam seofonfealdum letanium gecomon*: In view of the terrible plague, Gregory prescribed that at daylight of April 25, Wednesday, all the people of Rome should organize in an imposing ceremony. Gregory of Tours outlines the procession according to rank of ecclesiastical importance. All were to assemble in seven bodies and repeat a sevenfold litany. All the clergy were to set out with the priests of the sixth region from the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian, while all the abbots and monks were to set out from the church of Martyrs Saints Gervasius and Protasius with the priests of the fourth region. All the abbesses with their nuns were to set forth from the church of Saints Marcellinus and Peter the Martyrs, with the priests of the first region. All the children were to issue from the church of the Martyrs John and Paul, with the priests of the second region. The laity were to set out from the church of St. Stephen with the priests of the seventh region. The widows departed from the church of St. Euphemia, with the priests of the fifth region. All the married women went from the church of St. Clement, with the priests of the third region. The entire penitential procession lasted for three days (Howorth, p. 302).

According to the *Life of Gregory* found in the *Legenda Aurea* (whose most notable edition is by Caxton) it is said that the famous (and legendary) painting of the Virgin by the hand of the Evangelist Luke was carried in this procession. The improbable miracle is then reported that after the plague ceased, a voice above the painting sang out "Regina Coeli laetari" to which Gregory answered "Ora pro nobis, Deum rogamus, Alleluia."

All the groups marched together with prayers and tears to the Basilica of the Virgin Mary (i.e. Santa Maria Maggiore) where the pope addressed them. The disappearance of the plague shortly after was generally attributed to this large effort by Pope Gregory.

207-208) *Augustinus* • *Mellitus* • *Laurentius* • *Petrus* • *Iohannes Iustus*: These are the names of the most important members of the famous expedition to convert the English nation which landed in England in 597, directed there by Pope Gregory. The important nature of this venture and its significance to the Anglo-Saxon mind cannot be overestimated, and can be seen everywhere in Bede's lengthy accounts of the many details surrounding the mission.

It is not unreasonable to assume that Ælfric himself compiled the above list, since I have not been able to find it as such in any of the sources he knew. Before undertaking an identification of each name, it would be convenient to list the Archbishops of Canterbury from Augustine to Theodore, the contemporary of Cuthbert, to show how these succeeded each other in that chair.

1.	Augustine	601-604
2.	Laurentius	604-619
3.	Mellitus	619-624
4.	Justus	624-627
5.	Honorius	627-653
6.	Deusdedit	655-664
7.	Theodore	668-690

Augustine:

This is, of course, Augustine of Canterbury. Before his mission to England he was prior of Gregory's monastery of St. Andrew on the Caelian Hill. Although, as Ælfric points out later, Augustine was consecrated by a French bishop, the fact that Gregory sent him a *pallium* made him jurisdictionally independent of France. Augustine's name emerges frequently in Bede, and Gregory's letters tell us of the procedure he was to follow at Canterbury. Among his instructions were regulations allowing married clergy, commanding Augustine (a Benedictine monk) to live a common life with his fellow monks, and recommendations not to destroy pagan temples but convert them for Christian use. In 601, four years after his original landing, more monks were sent to Augustine from the pope along with books, relics, sacred vessels, and mass garments. Augustine died in 604. There are several studies of his work and life: A. Brou, *St. Augustine and his Companions* (London, 1897) and F. A. Gasquet, *Mission of St. Augustine* (London, 1960).

Mellitus:

Mellitus was an associate of Pope Gregory, one of a group of learned men whom the pope kept close to him (Dudden II, 123). We should note here that Ælfric's account is misleading. He was not of the first band which landed in England in 597 but in a second group, including Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus, who went to Augustine in 601 after he asked for more helpers. His name occurs frequently in Bede. He is the recipient of a famous letter from Gregory (I, 3) which instructs him to adapt the pagan customs where they are not in contradition to Christian practice. In 604 Augustine made Mellitus Bishop of London (II,3) and he was also to preach in Essex. While he was bishop of London, he went to Rome to confer with Boniface IV (608-614) (II, 4). He sat there at a Synod of which nothing else is known but that he was called to "prescribe rules for the life and peace of the monks."

His occupancy of the see of London, however, was not untroubled. In 616 Ethelbert died and was succeeded by his son Eabald who refused to accept Christianity. He was cast out of his see by the East Saxons who, following their ruler, returned to paganism (III, 22). They were not to return to the Christian faith until 653, after Mellitus' death. Mellitus went from London and withdrew into Gaul. He was recalled to England in 617 by Laurentius (II, 5) but could not return to London. He went instead to Canterbury where he succeeded Laurentius at his death in 619. He reigned as Archbishop of Canterbury for five years. At Canterbury he was highly revered, and a miracle of the quenching of fire is reported of him.

After his death, Mellitus was buried in a crypt under the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury, with Augustine, Laurentius, and Justus. The body of Augustine was later moved to Westminster, but the crypt containing the other bodies may still be seen at Canterbury.

Laurentius:

Laurentius is one of the members of the first expedition with Augustine (Dudden II, 123). He is the first mentioned in the Ecclesiastical History as sent by Augustine with a message to Rome for Pope Gregory within a year or two after their arrival in Canterbury (I, 27). He made an earnest plea to the pope for more help because, as Augustine wrote in the letter, the harvest was great but the laborers were few. He was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury as Augustine's successor. (He was consecrated in Christ Church, still standing but rebuilt after a fire in 1067. Cf. Sellar, p. 72n.)

Laurentius was indefatigable in his work as archbishop, as we can see from his several letters to Gregory (I, 35). He exhorted the Irish to adopt the Roman date for Easter (II, 4). When the son of Æthelred, Eabald, forced the East Saxons to revert to paganism, it was Laurentius who was responsible for the eventual return of Christianity to their area. Bede reports (II, 6) that he received a vision from the apostle Peter in which he was reproved for not opposing Eabald. The saint scourged Laurentius as part of his reprimand. In the morning Laurentius approached the pagan king and bared his bleeding back. Not even the impious Eabald could fail to be moved by this eloquent testimony of supernatural intervention and he became a Christian. Laurentius then sent letters recalling Mellitus and Justus, who were exiled. But the conversion of the king did not move the Londoners. They preferred to retain their paganism and Mellitus was not allowed to return there.

Petrus:

Petrus is another of that group of learned men with whom Gregory surrounded himself. We know him from the letters which Gregory sent to him. He was called the Subdeacon and, like Gregory's forefathers, came from Sicily (Dudden I, 245, 299). Bede records that Petrus was first abbot of the Monastery of St. Peter the Apostle (I, 33).

Iohannes:

Iohannes succeeded Petrus as abbot of the Moastery of St. Peter at Canterbury, later named after Augustine (Bright, p. 219). His name does not seem to occur in the Ecc. Hist.

The only Iohannes in Bede who was contemporary with Pope Gregory does not seem to have gone to England (Dudden, I, 245, 413; __Ecc__. __Hist__. I, 29). He was sent by Gregory to Spain in 603 on the important mission of examining a sentence of deposition and exile issued locally against Stephen, Gregory's bishop in Spain. It seems that if John the Defensor had travelled to England, such an important journey would have been recorded.

__Iustus__:

This man seems to have been the youngest of the six mentioned by Ælfric. He was consecrated bishop of Rochester in 604 (__Ecc__. __Hist__. I, 29). He succeeded Mellitus as Archbishop of Canterbury in 624, twenty-seven years after arriving in England. He is mentioned again several times by Bede. He received a letter from Laurentius (II, 4) on that all-important question of the date of Easter; Laurentius is insistent on the Roman custom. He left England in 616 with Mellitus (II, 5) under the pressure of Eabald. Unlike Mellitus (II, 6) he was able to return to Rochester when Laurentius wrote to him, and he reassumed his episcopacy there. He became the fourth archbishop of Canterbury. Sellar (p. 125) quotes the Saxon Chronicles and Malmesbury for Justus' death date of 627.

228-229) __to ðisum iglande gesundfullice becomon__: These missionaries landed in Thanet in 697. The king Æthelbryht gave them a dwelling at Canterbury and later accepted Christianity himself, though he did not attempt to force it on all his subjects. A second see was established for Kent in 604 at Rochester, and, shortly after, a see at London. There the king, Sæberht of Essex, was Æthelbryht's nephew and subservient to the Kentish king. Æthelbryht also extended his influence to king Rædwald of East Anglia who became a Christian; however, this influence was short-lived and Christianity did not take hold there at that time (Ecc. Hist. I, 25-33; II, 3, 5).

Perhaps the main reason for Augustine's happy reception at Canterbury was that Æthelbryht's wife, Bertha, was a French Christian and descendant of Clovis. Bertha brought with her the French Bishop Liudhard; though she and her Christian retinue had not until the coming of Augustine effected the conversion of the king, they did predispose him for the new religion. This and the equally happy coincidence of Æthelbryht's rather extensive rule made it easier for Augustine to establish himself in England. Æthelbryht, son of Eormanric, ruled as king of Kent from 560 to 616. Bede attributes to him an imperium over all of England south of the Humber. The church was strengthened for its immediate future in the new country because Æthelbryht's greatest achievement was the establishment of the first code of Anglo-Saxon laws which defined the legal position of the clergy and made it possible for the church to withstand many shocks after Æthelbryht's death, even the temporary paganism of his son Eabald. (Cf. the article on Æthelbryht by Dorothy Whitelock in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.)

246) *Cantwarebýrig*: This is the old Roman town of Durovernis, which is the name Bede gives it throughout his *Ecclesiastical History* (Cf. I, 25; II, 18; IV 2). Known now as Canterbury, the town's name has been variously spelled: Cantawaraburg (754) and Contwaraburg (851) in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, and Contwaraburg (890) in the Old English translation of Bede. The name simply means "burg" (fort or town) of the people of Kent (*Kanta* and *wara* are genitive plural forms). The Old British form of "Durovernon" appears as early as 150 in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (ed. Parthey and Pinder, Berlin, 1848). The elements appear to be Old British *duro*, "fort" and *verno* "swamp." The meaning would perhaps have suggested "the swamps by the fort." (Cf. Eilert Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names*, Oxford, 1960.)

The present site of Canterbury was apparently occupied long before the Roman settlement. Rather sophisticated fortifications have been excavated at the site which date from 200 B.C. Julius Caesar came near the town twice, once in 55 B. C. when he stormed Bigbury Camp (two miles west) and on his second campaign in 54 B. C. Neither campaign was successful. The Romans Latinized the Old British name to Durovernum in 43 A. D. after establishing a community there. They also constructed a rather sizable theatre whose foundations have been only lately uncovered in the Watling Street area. They also built a wall (about 200 A. D.) which is partly still standing. The town's importance was diminished when Rome's power weakened, but it gained new importance in the late sixth century when Æthelbryht, fifth Jutish king of Kent and Overlord of Britain, made it his capital. (Cf. D. Gardiner, *Canterbury* (London, 1933) and R. A. L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory* (London, 1943).)

232-233) *Augustinus hæfde genumen wealhstodas of Francena rice*: This line is taken from Bede, and Sellars remarks that some commentators have supposed on the strength of the passage that the speech of the Franks and the English was somehow mutually intelligible. This supposition is supported by a statement of Gregory (in a letter to Theodore and Theodeberht) that he had desired Augustine to take some Frankish priests with him. It is assumed that these priests were the interpreters. (Sellars, pp. 45-46)

265) MS V begins again here with the word *forðan* and continues to the end of the homily.

272) *Etherium*: There is some confusion in identifying this Etherius. Bede says that he is bishop of Arles (*Ecc. Hist.* I, 24, 28). But the Etherius of that date was bishop of Lyons. The bishop of Arles was Virgilius, according to the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. It seems, however, from the letters of Augustine to Etherius that he was bishop

of Lyons because Gregory commends to his care the monks whom he was sending to Augustine in Britain. (Cf. William Smith and Henry Wace, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography* (London, 1880). In the absence, at that time, of a better edition of the letters, Smith and Wace quote the *Pat. Lat.* LXXVII, 1028, 1173 and 1258 as their source.)

306-307) *Se eadiga gregorius gedihte manega halige traht bec*: The writings of Gregory, along with those of Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose, form part of the most important patristic store of Chritianity. The following is an outline and summary of his works adapted from an article by A. C. Rush in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Cf. also *Ecc. Hist*.II, 1).

1. *Scriptural Homilies*.

There are forty homilies on the Gospel, which are sermons given 590-591 on the gospel of the Sunday or feast. These are non-scholarly pastoral instructions full of illustrative stories. They lay heavy stress on the four last things: the end of the world, death, heaven, and hell. In them Gregory reflects the common attitude of the times that wars and plagues foreshadowed an imminent end of the material world. Their appeal to Ælfric's age, which saw the year 1000 as a good round number at which to end it all, is understandable.

There are also twenty-two pastoral homilies on Ezekiel (593). They are based on chapters four and forty of the Book of Ezekiel and treat of such topics as Christology, Ecclesiology, Active and Contemplative Life, Ideals of the Priesthood, and the Christian Life. They have historical value in their eyewitness reports of Italy and the Lombard invasions in the sixth century.

2. Moralia.

This is Gregory's masterpiece and longest work. It is composed of thirty-five books and consists of an exposition of the Book of Job. It is, however, more than biblical commentary in that it investigates the principles of Biblical interpretation, dogma, moral asceticism, and mystical theology. It contains, though not in an organized manner, a rather complete theology and forms a basic element of the patristic doctrinal reference.

3. Pastoral Care.

This is a work of Gregory's early pontificate and reflects his mind at the time. It is an attempt to justify his reluctance to accept the papacy by setting out his ideas on the virtues necessary for an aspirant to the office of bishop (or pope) and the care of souls. It has four books dealing with:

a) The proper person and the proper motives for the pastoral office.

b) The proper virtues for a pastor.

c) The proper method of preaching to various kinds of people (forty in all).

d) The proper care of the pastor's own spiritual life, especially through examination of conscience.

4. *Dialogues*.

The complete title of this work is *The Four Books of Dialogues on the Life and Miracles of the Italian Fathers and on the Immortality of Souls*. This work takes the form of a socratic dialogue between Gregory and Peter the Deacon. The longest part of the work is Book II, the "Life of St. Benedict." The fourth book deals again with some of Gregory's favorite themes: death, purgatory, heaven, and hell. The work's chief importance lies in Gregory's explanation of heaven and the soul's entry there.

4. *Letters*.

These are fourteen books in length and form the most important source for information about Gregory's life and pontificate. They touch on all aspects of his pontifical rule, sacred and secular.

There are several complete editions of Gregory's works: *Patrologia Latina*, ed. F. Migne and several volumes of the still incomplete *Corpus Christianorum* (Turnholti, 1953 -).

The books most frequently quoted in the Cuthbert notes will be referred to in the following abbreviations:

Anonymous Life -- "An Edition of the Life of St. Cuthbert by an Anonymous Monk," *Saints Lives and Chronicles in Early England* by C. W. Jones. New York, 1947.

Bosworth -- Bosworth, Joseph and T. N. Toller. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Oxford, 1898. Supplement, 1921.

Colgrave -- Colgrave, B. *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert*. Cambridge, 1940.

Dictionary of Christian Biography -- Smith, W. and H. Wace, ed. *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. 4 vols. London, 1877-1887.

Ecc. Hist. -- Bede, Venerable. *Ecclesiastical History of* England. Latin edition, Plummer, C. Oxford, 1896. Modern English translation, Sellar, A. M. London, 1907.

Gougaud -- Gougaud, Louis. *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages*. London, 1927.

Lives of the Saints -- Ælfric. *Lives of the Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat. London, 1881-1900.

St. Cuthbert

Line 6) *Beda*: Ælfric here gives us his source: the prose and verse lives of Cuthbert by Bede. Bede makes clear his methodology in the prologue to the prose life. After collecting his material as conscientiously as possible ("sine certissima exquisitione rerum gestarum aliquid de tanto viro scribere") he showed the work to Herefrith *frequenter* since Herefrith knew Cuthbert personally. He then sent the manuscript to Lindisfarne, where Cuthbert had lived, for general approval.

13-43) Cuthbert's encounter with the three-year-old child is in accord with the account given by Bede. A look at Bede's source, the *Anonymous Life*, may give the modern reader a better understanding for the child's disturbance. It was not the play, because Cuthbert played often and surpassed all his mates in skill ("omnes coaetaneos in agilitate et petulantia superans" I, 3). It was rather the nature of the play, which seems to have been sexual. "Alii namque stantes nudi versis capititubs pedes ad coelos sursum prominebant. Alii sic, alii vero sic fecerunt."

28) *witodlice*: Thorpe translates this as *whereupon*, where it could be better rendered as *indeed* or *surely*. (Bosworth suggests the equivalent of *quippe*, *nempe*, *quoque*.)

42) *biddende*: Thorpe translates this here and in other

places, in various forms, as *praying*, but it is probably clearer in this religous context as *begging*.

35-59) This episode had as its inspiration the Book of Tobias in which an angel preserved Tobias from death on his wedding night and later restored his father's vision.

42-43 *biddende bæt he him dægwistes dafenlice tiðode*: Thorpe renders the passage as: "praying that he would, if convenient, give a day-repast." It can more accurately be rendered as "asking that he give to him a fit day's repast."

44) *Cuðberhtus ða to ðam engle anmodlice cwæð*: Thorpe translates this as "Cuthbert thereupon frankly said," but it is probably more accurate as "Cuthbert then said resolutely."

59-63) The vision of a holy soul being led to paradise is frequently reported in the lives of the saints. In Ælfric's life of St. Benedict (*Second Series*, p. 84) that saint sees bishop Germanus "lædan mid englas to heofenum." In the *Anonymous Life* of Cuthbert there is reported another such vision, which Bede omits, where Cuthbert sees the soul of a prefect (*animam praefecti*) carried to heaven. Such a vision is also granted in Ælfric's passion of St. Julian and Basilisa in his *Lives of the Saints* (p. 100).

60) *wacode*: Thorpe has "*watching* but the word is bettered rendered as "remained awake."

61) on his geogoðe: Thorpe omits a translation for this phrase, "in his youth."

62) Aidanes biscopes sawle: Bede is practically our only source for information about St. Aidan, the first bishop of Lindisfarne. He was of Irish descent and a monk at Iona when King Oswald asked him to reconvert the lapsed Northumbrian people (Ecc. Hist. III, 3). He was consecrated bishop in 635. Bede also tells us that he was closely associated with Oswald and after his death, was friendly with King Oswin of Deire. Aidan died on August 31, 651 (Ecc. Hist. III, 16-17). Aidan brought with him the Irish love of asceticism and Bede relates his custom of retiring to the austere island of Farne for meditation, as we see Cuthbert doing later in this homily. Although Bede speaks of Aidan in the highest terms, he must reluctantly admit that Aidan clung to the schismatic Celtic church. Colgrave tells us that Aidan was buried at Lindisfarne. Part of his body, as a relic, reached Durham in 995. Colgrave also tells us that this incident occurred near the River Leader, a fact found in the Anonymous Life but not in Bede. This river flows into the Tweed, two miles below Melrose. (Cf. W. J. Watson, Celtic Place-Names of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 471.)

71) Bosworth explains sýfling as "food to be taken with bread" ("quilibet cibus extra panem").

65-71) This scene occurs, according to the Anonymous Life, in a place called Chester-le-Street. A slightly different version occurs in the prose life where Cuthbert is being specially honored because he insists on observing the Friday fast, not merely stopping because of bad weather. Sulpicius Severus tells a similar story (Dial. I, 2) about an Egyptian abbot. On going to visit a recluse near the Nile, he found a basket of palm branches in his cell --provided by God-- full of warm bread. This type of divine favor is frequently found and Colgrave calls it the "miraculous provision of food." Other such occurences are found in the Cuthbert homily, such as provision of food by an angel or an eagle. These instances obviously recall the feeding of the multitudes by Christ, the angels ministering to Christ in the desert, the already mentioned angel of Tobias who provided a fish for his charge or the provision of food for Elijah by the ravens, to be mentioned later.

84-92) This asceticism of Cuthbert had a long tradition among the Egyptian and Irish monks. It is still seen by visitors to the Island of St. Patrick in County Donegal, Ireland, where penitents walk on rocks, kneel in the cold rain and recite prayers with arms outstretched. The best surviving testament of its practice among the Egyptians is found in Athanasius' Life of St. Anthony, widely known in early Christian times in the Evagrian translation. In such penitential practices, excesses were common and fasts ordinarily lasted many days. Catalogues of such practices are given by L. Gougaud, *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages* (London, 1927), pp. 147, 159, 205ff. Macarius of Alexandria, in his self-inflicted punishment, went without sleep for a number of nights and gave up only when he began to go mad. He was also bitten severely by mosquitoes when he spent six months in a swamp and was so disfigured at his return that his features were completely unrecognizable. He was only recognized by his voice. (*Palladii Historia Lausiaca*, ed. D. Cuthbert Butler, (Cambridge, 1898), chap. 18-19.) The body of Eustathius was so dried up by the sun in the Egyptian desert that his bones were almost visible.

Immersion is commonly reported as a form of asceticism among the Irish, Welsh, Breton, and Scottish saints. It is seen in the lives of St. Patrick and St. Coemgen. For examples, see the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Rolls Series, 2 vols. (London, 1887), p. 485, and *The Lives of the Irish Saints*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1922), II, 123. These saints stood immersed in cold water during the night, reciting parts of their office, probably the psalms which were known by memory. Gougaud (p. 95) tells the same practices of Drihthelm of Melrose, Wilfrid, and Aldhelm.

94-95) *and mid sleaccre stalcunge his forswaðum filigde*:

Among the stories about Irish saints, Colgrave calls our attention to a similar occurrence. A spy followed St. Fintan by night to his accustomed place of prayer where he saw the saint surrounded by light. The saint rebuked the culprit in a similar manner. (*Lives of the Irish Saints*, II, 102.) A similar spy followed St. Columba and saw his meeting with angels. As with Cuthbert, the culprit was told not to say a word about the incident until the saint's death. (*Vita Columba*, ed. Reeves, III, p. 217). Ultimately all such stories reminded the readers of Christ's own transfiguration on Mt. Tabor and his admonition that the apostles should not reveal it until his death.

100) *twegen seolas*: Bede says that the animals are not seals but otters ("quae vulgo lutraeae vocantur"). Colgrave thinks they they were otters because in Ireland such animals are reputed to have magical powers. In the *Lives of the Irish Saints*, ed. Plummer, II, 123-125, there are several stories told about the encounters of Irish saints and otters. One used to bring St. Coemgen a salmon every day. Another saint dropped his psalter into a lake; it was fetched for him by one of these friendly animals.

103) *fealwum*: Thorpe has *fallow*, that is, *pale yellow*.

116-117) *ac we wyllað for sceortnysse sume forswuwian*: This is merely a conventional apology. It appears as well in the longer life by Bede and in Adaman's *Life of St*.

St. Columba. Sulpicius uses it in his *Life of St. Martin* which served as a model for many saints' lives to follow.

130-131) *se earn on ðam ofre gesæt mid fisce*: We have already seen Cuthbert's friendliness with the otters. This is another example such amicability with animals seen often in monastic traditions of both Irish and Egyptian monks. Helen Waddell has collected some of the more interesting stories of both traditions in her book of translations *Beasts and Saints* (London, 1934). The affinity of these saints for friendly beasts can be seen from her chapter titles:

"Blessed Ammon and the Dragons "(from Rufines, *Historia Monachorum*, chap 8, *Pat. Lat.* XXI, 420-421.)

"St. Pachome and the Crocodiles" (from Dionysius Exiguus, *Vita Sancti Pachomii*, *Pat. Lat.* LXXIII, 240.)

"The Abbot Grasimus and the Lion" (from John Maschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, *Pat. Lat.* LXXIII, 172.)

Colgrave points out that the Cuthbert stories have engendered long traditions in the area surrounding Durham. The tradition that Cuthbert had great affection for the eider ducks, still found on the Farne Islands, is preserved in the name of "St. Cuthbert's birds" by which they are still called. In his prose life of Cuthbert, Bede reports that a horse provided the saint with food on one occasion (I , 6) that sea animals at Coldingham ministered to him (II, 3), that eagles brought him sea food (II, 5), and that birds departed from his crops when he commanded them to leave. Colgrave also reports that the eagle in this case would be the white-tailed eagle (*Haliaetus albicilla*) which lives mostly on fish. He conjectures that the same bird appears in the "Battle of Brunanburgh" as the *earn æftan hwit* (line 63). Until recently it appeared from time to time in England in the autumn. It is now seldom seen.

137-166) These two incidents of extinguishing flames are of special import. There is a similar story in Gregory's Life of St. Benedict (*Greg. Dial.* II, 10, p. 97), in which case, a bronze idol is thrown into the kitchen fire and the entire kitchen appears to be ablaze. But all is illusory, and, when the saint prays, the fire disappears and the kitchen is unharmed. Similar incidents of illusory flames appear among the lives of Irish saints. In the collection by Plummer (II, 99) we read of St. Fintan and his companions who, when sitting down to eat in the refectory, discovered the entire building to be in flames. Again, prayers from the saint stopped the fire. The exact nature of the flames is not always the same in these stories. At times they appear to be from the devil and at other times seem to be sent from God. Mellitus, mentioned in Ælfric's homily on St. Gregory, is reported by Bede as also having overcome a raging fire (*Ecc. Hist.* II, 7). This passage, at the conclusion of Mellitus' encounter with the flames, indicates how flames may be interpreted: "Et quia vir Dei ingnae divinae caritatis fortiter

ardebat, quia tempestates potestatum seriarum a sua suorumque lesione crebris orationibus vel exhortationibus repellere consuerat, merito ventis flammisque mundialibus praevalere, et, ne sibi nocerent, obtinere poterat."

In some cases there are clear scriptural derivations for the flames. In his life of St. Basil (Lives, p. 80), Ælfric reports the appearance of a fiery column to that saint, one obviously derived from Exodus xiii. 21-22. No doubt the burning bush (iii. 1-6) also played a part in the fire-symbolism. In his life of St. Julian (Lives, p. 104) Ælfric reports that the emperor Martianus accuses Julian of witchcraft in quenching a fire. Other fires appear in the life of St. Agnes (p. 184), St. Lucy (p. 216), and St. Eugenia (p. 40). Many other saints' lives, which Ælfric perhaps knew, report such extinctions of fires through the intercession of saints, such as the Sulpician Life of St. Martin (chap. 15) which Ælfric used for his life of Martin. The house in which St. Eddius was being born seemed, like the blazing bush, to be on fire without consuming (The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 4, 151). The discussion of fire symbolism is extensive and many such studies carry the interpretations back to their pre-Christian and mythological origins. Among such works are J. G. Frazer's Myths of the Origin of Fire (London, 1930) ; J. Morgenstern's The Fire Upon the Altar (Leiden, 1963); F. Heiler Erscheinungsformen *und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961); and R. Mayer's *Die Biblische Verstellung vom Weltenbrand* (Bonn, 1956).

137-138) *on heora weg ferdon*: The Irish monks travelled extensively in their proselytizing missions. Such travels were undertaken with great hardship, according to the Celtic tradition of austerity. Journeys were usually undertaken on foot for the purpose of mortification and humility. The few occasions when Cuthbert is reported on horseback (*Anonymous Life*, I, 6; Bede, *Prose Life*, chap. 5,6) are used by Colgrave as an argument for his noble birth (p. 344). Other saints, such as Aidan, Chad, Kentigern, and Malachy always traveled on foot. Even the anti-Celticist Wilfrid traveled on foot to Rome, as an old man of seventy, to mortify and humiliate his flesh. (For more on this topic, see Gougaud, pp. 175 ff.)

140) *mid leasung*: Thorpe translates this *with leasing*, which is Scottish for "with falsehood, hypocrisy, artifice, deception, etc."

171-172) *on ðam timan to prafoste geset on ðam munuc life þe is lindisfarnea gehaten*: According to the *Anonymous Life*, Cuthbert was "invitatus et coacte ad hanc insulam nostram que dicitur Lindisfarnae" (III, 1) by Bishop Eata, a pupil of Aidan and the abbot of Melrose. Bede seems particularly interested in Eata, and Cuthbert's relationship with him, because Eata was very reluctant to accept the Roman Easter (*Ecc. Hist.* II). Both he and Cuthbert went to Ripon in an attempt to escape the Roman influence. Both seem to have eventually acceeded, however, because immediately after the Synod of Whitby (664) Colman left Lindisfarne for the reluctance to accept the Roman Easter and Eata was eventually chosen to take his place. He later became bishop of Bernicia and died of dysentery about 686 (*Prose Life*, chap. 8; see also *Dictionary of National Biography*). According to Bede (Colgrave, p. 324) the discipline at Lindisfarne was lax when Cuthbert arrived. Cuthbert enforced a rule there whose nature is not quite clear. Gougoud (*Christianity in Celtic Lands* (London, 1932), p. 79) refers to the rule as some "traditional not codified observance of a monastery." It was probably a combination of the Columban and the Benedictine rules. Eventually the more moderate Benedictine rule supplanted the other. Cf. W. Levison, "Die Iren und die Frankische Kirche," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CIX, (1912), 1-22.

172) *þe is Lindisfarnea gehaten*: Thorpe's "which is at Lindisfarne" is not as literal as "which is called "Lindisfarne."

175) *gehrihta gedon*: This is better as "do her last rights" rather than Thorpe's "last offices."

195) *wolde þa anstandende ancer life adreogan*: During the seventh century there was a large number of Irish saints

who, after the example of the Egyptian hermits, spent their lives in seclusion in wild, uncongenial places. For deserts they found deserted rocky islands or boats set free on cold waters. In Book III, chap. 19 of the Ecc. Hist. Bede reports the case of such a life. Wihtberht (V,2), Drihthelm (V,12) and (V,12) Haemgils led similar lives.

196) farne: The name Farne refers to a large group of rocky islands off the coast of Northumberland and to the largest of them, one about sixteen acres in area. Colgrave (quoting from J. Raine, North Durham (London, 1852)p. 341) describes the island as having "precipitous rocks on the west side, but the rest of the coast is fairly low. It is about one and a half miles from the mainland near Bamburgh and about seven miles from Lindisfarne. The remains of the fourteenth century medieval chapel doubtless mark the site of Cuthbert's hermitage." Bede reports that Aidan was residing on Farne in 651 when Penda was ravaging the country of the Northumbrians (III, 16). From the time of Cuthbert on there were one or two monks inhabiting the island, such as Æthilwald, Felgild, Ælfric, Ælwine, Bartholomew, and Thomas from Durham. (See each in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, ed. W. Smith and H. Wace, 4 vols., London, 1877-1887.) A rather complete account of the island and its monks appears in C. Eyre The History of St. Cuthbert (London, 1858), pp. 32 ff.

Islands where monks had their cells in isolation can still be seen today in Ireland (in a ruined and uninhabited condition) on the islands of Inishmurray, Skellig Michael, and Ardoilean. (See Lord Dunraven, Notes on Irish Architecture, ed. Margaret Stokes (London, 1875), I, 27.) Similar islands are seen in Scotland, such as in Loch Columcille, the island of Eilean na Naoimn, and the Brough of Deerness and the Brough of Bissay in Orkney. (See J. Anderson, Scotland in Early Christian Times (Edinburgh, 1881), pp. 94 ff. and Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, (1921-22), p. 67. For other such islands, see Colgrave, p. 326.)

207) his fægeran botles: This fair dwelling is more completely described in Bede's life of Cuthbert (Chap 17). "It is a structure almost round in plan, measuring about four or five poles from wall to wall; the wall itself on the outside is higher than a man standing upright; but inside he made it much higher by cutting away the living rock, so that the pious inhabitant could see nothing except the sky from his dwelling, thus restraining both the lust of the eyes and of the thoughts and lifting the whole bent of his mind to higher things. He made this same wall, not of cut stone nor of bricks and mortar, but just of unworked stone and of turf which he had removed from the excavation in the middle of the dwelling. Some of these stones were so great that it would seem to have been scarcely possible for four men to

have brought them thither from elsewhere with angelic aid, and to have placed them in the wall. He had two buildings in his dwelling-place, namely an oratory and another habitation suitable for common uses. He finished the walls by digging and cutting away the natural soil both inside and outside, and he placed on them roofs of rough-hewn timber and straw. But away at the landing-place in the island there was a larger house in which the brethren who visited him could be received and rest, and not far away was a well for their use" (Colgrave, p. 217).

Such a dwelling is very similar to the habitations of the Egyptian hermits. John of Lycopolis had three such cells, one for work, one for prayer, one for other bodily needs (Palladii Historia Lausiaca, ed. Butler, (Cambridge, 1898), chap. 35). The high wall around several separate buildings is still seen in Coptic monasteries of Egypt. (See E. H. Sawyer, "The First Monasteries," Antiquity, IV, 1930, 316.)

208) wynsum asprang: Thorpe's "quickly sprang up" is inaccurate and is better as "pleasantly sprang up" (wynsum is similar to suavis).

That the water sprang more or less miraculously and that it later became winlicum combines two scriptural precedents: that of Moses (Numbers, xx) and Christ at the wedding feast (John, ii). The first model of all these lives of the saints, the Evgrain life of Anthony, also relates such a miraculous production of water (Pat. Lat. LXXIII, 150) and so does Gregory in his life of Benedict (*Dialogues* II, 5). Most of the miraculous productions are brought about through more astonishing means than mere digging. St. Colman brought forth water by touch of a crozier (*Lives of the Irish Saints*, I, 272) and St. Maedoc with his tears (*Ibid*., II, 151). Colgrave reports (p. 327) that there still exist wells associated with the names of saints in both England and Ireland. I have seen one in County Donegal, Ireland, named after St. Columba and surrounded by crutches left by those supposedly healed there. There are still two shallow wells on the island of Farne.

232-233) There are many stories of penitent animals. We can point out the story of the penitent she-wolf (Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogues* I, 14) and the grateful lioness (*Ibid*., I, 15). See Also "Saint Kevin and the Cow" and"St. Cainnic and the Sea Birds" in Waddell, pp. 123, 121.

240-241) *þa bæld he hi anre sẏlle*: This piece of timber was used as a foundation for a building over a small hollow in the rocks. Colgrave has apparently seen the site of Cuthbert's hermitage and says that there is still a hollow there. The wooden portion of the structure has long since disappeared and the hollow is known now as "St. Cuthbert's Gut" (p. 327). The didactic intent of this incident is simply to show how, when men are failing their duties to obedience, dumb nature will exhibit the will of

God. We have seen similar incidents in the case of the seals who came to Cuthbert out of reverence and not out of curiosity as the monk who secretly followed him.

253) Ælflæd: This was the daughter of Oswio (612-670). He was the English king of the Northumbrians and warred constantly with Penda and the Britons. In 651, after the death of Oswin, the last king of Deira, his rule extended to all of Northumbria. He used his daughters to political advantage. The first he married to the king of the Middle Angles on condition that that nation accept Christianity. In 655 he defeated Penda and dedicated his second daughter, Ælfled, to the service of God. He eventually gained supremacy over all Mercia, the South Angles, East Angles, East Saxons, and parts of the Bretons and Scots. He presided at the Synod of Whitby in 664. Ælfled went to the convent with the abbess Hilda at Hartlepool and then at Whitby. She must have been there with her father in 664. (Cf. *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.)

254) ecgfrides: This was the second son of Oswio and he became king of Northumbria at his father's death. Although the kingdom he inherited was extensive, it was not securely held and his reign was troubled by lack of subordination (*Ecc. Hist.* II; Stenton, p. 85.). His first wife was Æthelthryth, daughter of King Anna of East Anglia. She was encouraged by bishop Wilfrid to become a nun. She is

now also known as St. Audrey. His second wife was Eormonburg; she fomented Ecgfrith's anger over Wilfrid's influence and led eventually to Wilfrid's expulsion. Even after Wilfrid returned in 680 with letters from the pope, he was imprisoned for nine months. After his release, he left Northumbria permanently. In 684 Ecgfrith persuaded Cuthbert to become bishop of Hexham, but he later left Hexham with Eata for Lindisfarne. (Cf. B. Colgrave ed., *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (London, 1927) and *Bede, Ecc. Hist.* IV, 5, 12, 17, 19, 21, 26.)

The prophecy in the text about king Ecgfrith falls into an easily recognizable pattern of prophecies about kings and rulers which are told of many saints preceeding Cuthbert. Some are more definitely and clearly stated than Cuthbert's predition. Aidan predicted Oswine's murder by Oswio in 642 (*Ecc. Hist.* III, 24) and Cedd foretold the death of Sigebert of Essex who was murdered for being too generous (*Ecc. Hist.* III, 22).

284) Thorpe does not translate *gemot*, a meeting, assembly, or council.

285) *Theodorus*: Theodore of Tarsus who studied at Athens was one of the most remarkable men of the seventh century. Wighard was chosen by the people of the English nation to be Archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England. But when in Rome to receive the pallium from Pope Vitalian he died of the plague in 667. The pope then chose Theodore, a man

of scholarly reputation, and then aged sixty-seven, to go to England as the new archbishop of Canterbury. That the pope made a good choice was soon evident. Theodore threw himself into his new work with great vigor. He founded a school of Greek at Canterbury, gained submission of the heterogeneous churches of several English kingdoms and established ecclesiastical unity. Some of his work was bound to alienate the local bishops and when he divided the diocese of Wilfred into four parts, Wilfrid traveled to Rome to recover his divided bishopric. He did not succeed. The men were nevertheless later reconciled. Theodore also wrote a penitential which is still extant. (Cf. *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.))

289-290) *ac hi ne mihton hine of his mynstre gebringan*: This refusal to accept ecclesiastical dignity is one easily familiar to those who have read any of the saints' lives. It is found in all three here edited. The *Dictionary of Christian Biography* gives examples of others such as Ambrose, Augustine, Chad, Wilfrid, and Dunstan. Occasionally we find extreme examples such as that reported in the *Palladi Historia Lausiaca* (chap. III) of Ammonius who first cut off part of his ear and then threatened to cut off his tongue as well if he were not left alone in his contemplative life. The practice of humble protestation is still common among European clerics, such as the Italians, whose denials of worthiness are, however, never to be taken seriously.

291) *Trumwine*: This bishop, called Tumma by Bede, was bishop of the Picts with his episcopal seat at the monastery near Abercorn. He went to Whitby when the king of Northumbria, Ecgfrith, was defeated. He lived there a long time and was buried there after his death (*Ecc*. *Hist*. IV, 26).

298) *Boisiles*: Boisil was the prior of a monastery to whom, according to Bede (*Ecc*. *Hist*. IV, 27) Cuthbert submitted himself as his spiritual director and instructor in Holy Scripture. He is described simply as a man of great virtue and prophetic spirit. His name is later transformed to "Boswell" and the town of St. Boswell is named after him (Cf. Plummer, ed. *Ecc*. *Hist*. II, 266). In the report of Bede (V, 9) he appears to Edgbert to dissuade him from making a missionary journey to the island but urges him instead to convert the Picts.

299-300) *On ðam ylcan geare wearð eac ofslegen Ecgfridus se æðela cẏning*: This is the fullfilment of Cuthbert's prophecy and the culmination of Ecgfrith's problems with the Picts. According to Sy meon of Durham (*Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series (London, 1882-5), I, 32) he was trapped in the mountains and slain on Saturday, May 20, 685.

303) *his cẏfes borena broðor*: Aldfrith was this man's name.

He was the illegitimate son of Oswia and an Irish princess. His mother's name was probably Fina and he was known in Ireland as Flann Finne William of Malmesbury tells us that during his brother's reign, he lived in exile at Ireland (Gesta Regum, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1887), p. 57). He reigned over Northumbria from 685 to 704 and Bede reports of him very approvingly (Ecc. Hist. IV, 24). It is generally agreed that he both had a reputation for learning and furthered learning and culture during his reign in Northumbria (Stenton, p. 88). Aldfrith himself was educated for the priesthood and for many years during his exile he studied and wrote. He is commemorated by such writers as Bede, Eddi (St. Wilfrid's biographer), and Alcuin. The last of these describes him as "rex simul et magister." Stenton places him with Alfred of Wessex as one "among the few old English kings who combined skill in warfare with desire for knowledge" (p. 89). His court was a meeting place for cultivated men and it has been conjectured by some that from there the epic Beowulf originated. (Cf. R. W. Chambers, Beowulf: An Introduction (Cambridge, 1932), p. 489.)

352) boclande: This word, not translated by Thorpe, designates land granted by book or charter in Anglo-Saxon times. It is free from all fees.

336-352) The author of the Anonymous Life tells us that this story was related directly to him by Ælfled (mihi revelavit, IV, 10) and also says it took place at Ovington, part of the estate of Whitby. Colgrave says that there is now an Ovington which lies on the southern slope of the north bank of the Tyne, a mile west of Ovingham (p. 336).

358) mid treowenum: Where grass is not available, it is customary to gather fodder for animals from the branches of trees. James Frazer, in his edition of Ovid's Fasti (London, 1929, III, 358) gives many references to this custom. He quotes from Hesiod, Theocritus, and Virgil.

365-66) gelyfed on ancer setle: T horpe translates this phrase as "dwelt very orthodoxly" but it is more accurately rendered as "lived in a hermitage."

367) Hereberhtus: Apart from a somewhat longer version of this story in Bede's Prose Life, there is nothing more known of this man (Chap. XXVIII).

371) he ne moste on menniscum life hine eft geseon: Foreknowledge of his own death was standard in a saint's life. It is found in the life of St. Anthony and was the expected part of the pattern in all later lives. It often came through a prophetic vision, usually by angels. Bede tells similar stories of Chad (Ecc. Hist. IV, 3), Earcongota (III, 80), Wilfrid at Meaux (IV, 11). The saint usually tells of the prophecy to a friend and begins to prepare himself for departure.

382) *Cuðberhtus se halga ða swiðe onette to ðam ancor setle ðe he ær gesæt*: Since he knew the end was coming, Cuthbert can hardly be accused of lightly throwing over his episcopal duties.

391-392) *His lic wearð bebyrged on lindisfarneiscre cyrcan*: According to the *Anonymous Life* (XIII, 4) the body was wrapped in waxed linen cloth, possibly to keep out the air. Symeon (*Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*) says that when the coffin was reopened in 1104 the inner coffin was covered with a cloth of coarse texture soaked with wax. Reginald of Durham reports that the body was wrapped in a thin woven sheet of linen next to the body, attired with an alb, amice, mitre, gold fillet, stole, tunic, dalmatic, and episcopal. When the coffin was opened in 1827, the remains of five silken robes were found. Four may still be seen in the chapter library at Durham. (Cf. C. F. Battiscombe, "The Relics of St. Cuthbert," *Transactions of the Arcitectural Society of Durham and Northumberland*, VIII, Pt. 1 (1937), 43-79; Reine, *St. Cuthbert*, p. 193.)

397-398) *þæt halige lic hal on eorðan gemet gesundful licgende*: Regardless of what the explanation for the phenomenon may be, incorrupt bodies have been reported from earliest times. Saintyves gives examples of many kinds, not all of which have a religious connection (P. Saintyves, *En marge de la Legende doree* (Paris, 1930), pp. 284 ff.).

Instances are mentioned by Quintus Curtius and Pausanias (Cf. Colgrave, p. 338). Bede mentions four saints whose bodies were preserved incorrupt. They are Æthilberg (*Ecc. Hist.* III, 8) Fursey (III, 19), Æthilthryth (IV, 19) as well as Cuthbert. Ælfric mentions the bodies of St. Edmund and St. Withburga (B. Thorpe, *Analecta Saxonica* (London, 1846), p. 125). J. Raine and C. F. Battiscombe have compiled interesting histories of Cuthbert's incorruptible body. It was reportedly seen in the eleventh century when it was still lifelike. In 1104 there were also written accounts of its incorruption and of miracles resulting from it. In 1537 commissioners of Henry VIII visited the monastery at Lindisfarne and reported that it was incorrupt. When the tomb was opened in 1827 only a heap of bones was found. Some maintain that the incorrupt body was moved in 1538 and another body substituted. These same people also say that the incorrupt body remains in some hidden place in the cathedral which is known only to three Benedictines. Colgrave calls Raine's account of this entire history "biased" (p. 339).

The following abbreviations will be used for books most often referred to in the notes for the homily on St. Martin:

DACL -- Leclerq, F. Cabrol-H. Dictionaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie. Paris, 1924 - .

Gregory of Tours -- Historia Francorum. Patrologia Latina, LXXI, 161-572. Translated by O. M. Dalton. Oxford, 1927.

Lives of the Saints -- Ælfric. Lives of the Saints, ed. W. W. Skeat. London, 1881-1900.

Peebles -- Peebles, B. M, ed. and trans. Life of St. Martin Letters and Dialogues by Sulpicius Severus. New York, 1949.

Vita Martini -- Sulpicius Severus. Vita Martini, edited in Latin, Carolus Halm. Vienna, 1866. Also, Pat. Lat. XX, 159-222.

St. Martin

line 3) *se wuldorfulla Godes andettere*: The term *confessor* (*andettere*) derives ultimately from the Latin *confiteri*, "to declare openly." It is a title applied to those male saints who were not martyrs but who are celebrated for their public manifestation of Christian virtue. In the earliest Christian times, there was no distinction between those who died for the faith and those who died natural deaths but as faithful Christians. All were called confessors. But by the third century (Martin died in the fourth), the distinction was becoming very common. Eusebius tells of St. Seleucus who was first a confessor then a martyr (*De Martyribus Palestiniae*, II, 20). (Cf. F. Cabrol-H. Leclerq, *Dictionaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris, 1924), III, 2508-15.) Sulpicius Severus (c. 363-420), Ælfric's source for the Life of Martin, does not use the term at this point in his *Vita Sancti Martini* (edited by Carolus Halm (Vienna, 1866) and translated by Bernard M. Peebles (New York, 1949).) It is Ælfric who classifies Martin as a confessor from necessity of liturgical categorization; it is the liturgical cycle which forms the organizational principle for his collection of homilies.

4) *Æþelborenum magum*: Sulpicius uses the litotes "parents not of lowly rank " ("parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non infimis"). It seems that Ælfric, as is customary with

medieval hagiographers, attributes noble birth to most of his saints. See his *Lives of the Saints* (ed. W. Skeat, London, 1900), St. Eugenia, I, 24; St. Julian, I, 90; St. Agatha, I, 194 and others. I have never found mention of lowly birth, although there certainly must have been some instances of it; in such cases the social condition was not mentioned.

4) *þe is gehaten Pannonia*: Pannonia is the northern of two provinces which resulted from the division of Roman Illyrium. Its boundaries were: north and east, the Danube; west, Vienna; south and southwest, Northern Italy. It made up part of modern Austria, Hungery, and Yugoslavia. In the fourth century it was suffering extensively from barbaric invasions (Cf. *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome, 1960), XXXV, 202-203).

5) *on þære byrig þe is gecweden Sabaria*: This is the "Savaria" of the Roman inscriptions, a city in upper Pannonia raised to the status of a Roman colony by the emperor Claudius (ruled 214-217); he was the descendant of an Illyrian family. Today it is generally identified with Szombathely in western Hungery. (Cf. Peebles, p. 104) For another identification of the birth place of St. Martin (Szent Marton near the Benedictine abbey of Martinsberg) and a discussion of the problem, see A. Lecoy de la March, *Saint Martin* (Tours, 1881), p. 66 and E.-Ch. Babut, *Saint Martin de Tours* (Paris, 1913), p. 172.

6) *siððan afed on Italia*: Sulpicius specifies Ticinum, the present day Pavia in Italia, in the provence of Pavia. Ælfric mentions Ticinum in his other and longer biography of Martin (*Lives of the Saints*, I, 221).

9) *godes cempan*: Martin is the chosen soldier of God. Note here the preparation for the portrait of Martin as the *miles Christi*. It is noteworthy that most of his portraits envision him as a soldier, though his time in that capacity was relatively short. They seldom portray him as a bishop, which he later became. The best-known paiting of more recent times is that by El Greco.

We cannot attribute the characterization of Martin as *miles Christi* to Ælfric, because all of its elements are adopted from Sulpicius. C. Jullian draws a useful comparison between Sulpicius' treatment of Martin and Hilary of Poitiers (whom we encounter later in the homily). "Dans ses *Chroniques*, il nous montre Hilaire multipliant les réunions des conciles et déliverant la Gaul de l'hérésie (*Chron*. II, 45). Et dans sa *Vie de Saint Martin*, il nous montre le jeune prêtre devenue un puissant apôtre. 'Ab hoc tempore [le premier miracle après la fondation de Ligugé] beati viri nomen enituit, ut qui sanctus jam ob omnibus habebatur, potens etiam et vere apostolicus haberetur' (*Vita Martini*, chap. 7). L'expression annonce, non pas un ascète qui vit dans sa cellule, mais un chef de moines qui prêche et combat" (*Revue des études anciennes*, XII (1921), 278).

11) *ða arn he to cẏrcan*: Apparently there was no legal barriar to a child of ten asking for catechumenate. For a complete description of the preliminary stage of Christian incorporation, see *DACL* II, 2530-2631. It was a time of fasting, prayer, and spiritual preparation for baptism. The time of the catechumenate was normally fixed at three years. It seems from this biography that Martin's was much longer. Although he was accepted at the age of ten (*he wearð gecristnod*), yet five years later he was still not baptized (*næs ðeah ða gẏt gefullod*). It was only after divine intervention that he was baptized at the age of eighteen.

18-19) *þam laðum gecampe*: Thorpe translates this phrase as part of "seized for that hateful strife." The translation is correct, but we should be careful to note the meaning. Martin was coerced that he should serve in that hateful warfare.

22) *constantium*: This is Constantius II, who ruled as emperor from 337 to 361.

22) *Julianus*: This is Julian the Apostate, emperor from 361 to 363. Chapter four of the Sulpician life recounts a meeting and dialogue between Martin and Julian.

24) *modig*: Thorpe translates this word as *insolent* which is perhaps one aspect of the more usual meaning of *brave*

or courageous.

27) swincendum: Thorpe rather freely translates this word as the afflicted. The word, derived from swincan, is more accurately translated as laborers.

29-30) on middes wintres cyle: The event occurred, according to Sulpicius, at the city gate of Amiens. (Amiens is included in Ælfric's other life of Martin, I, 225.) In the sixth century, the site was marked by an oratory. This location is also cited by Gregory of Tours, the fourth century historian of France, who wrote a life of Martin shortly after Sulpicius. He tells us: "In porta Ambianensi [Amiens] in qua quondam vir beatus pauperum algentem chlamyde decissa contexit, oratorium a fidelibus est aedificatum, in quo nunc puellae religiosae deservint ob honorem sancti antistites parumper habentes facultatis, nisi quod eas devotorum alit saepe devotio" (Pat. Lat. LXXI, 928).

30) Ænne nacodne ðearfan: There is no reason for Thorpe's translation of "blind pauper." I find no mention of blindness in the other life by Ælfric (I, 225) or in Sulpicius (pauperum nudum).

36) ac tocearf his basing on emtwa mid sexe: Martin cuts his cloak with a sword. Certainly the sword and perhaps the cloak were long afterward believed to have survived as

relics. In 1225, a distinguished jurist of Verona, Maggio Maggi, testified that had seen and touched the sword. (Peebles attaches great import to these relics; see p. 107. Cf. also his "Da Prato's *Saibantianus* of Sulpicius Severus and its Humanistic connections," *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of E. K. Rand*, ed. L. W. Jones (New York, 1938), pp. 231-244.) It seems to be well known that in France in the early Middle Ages a garment (*cappa*) claimed as St. Martin's was preserved in the royal treasury. Leclerq (*DACL* III, 381) describes two mantles, one at Tours and the other at Amiens, and decides that the Amiens cloak is most likely Martin's. He describes its physical characteristics: "Ce vêtement était la chlamyde d'uniforme, en étoffe de laine blanche, s'attachant sur l'épaule droite par une fibule et relevée sur le bras gauche."

It should be remembered, perhaps, that none of this information can be offered as proof that the miracle did occur. Nor are we concerned here with the very real problems of credibility for the modern reader. It seems more pertinent merely to report the historical evidence.

43) *Hælend*: Thorpe takes the freedom of translating this word (*Lord*) as "Jesus."

47) *he on ẏlde eahtatẏne geara wæs*: Two very important manuscripts of Sulpicius at this point fix Martin's age at

twenty. (They are at Verona, Chapter Library, MS XXXVIII (36)) of the year 517 and at Dublin, Trinity College, MS 52 (_Liber Ardmachanus_) of about 807. There is a facsimile of this second MS in J. Gwynn, _The Book of Armagh_ (Dublin, 1913) with an introduction by E.-Ch. Babut which discusses the text. (For more information and evaluations, see Peebles, pp. 98 and 108.) There are inconsistencies and contradictions within the various manuscripts of Sulpicius and the life by Gregory of Tours. The problem has been investigated exhaustively by H. Delehaye (_Analecta Bollandiana_, XXXVII, 19-33). His solution has been accepted by most critics and has the backing of his own seldom disputed authority (Cf. Peebles, pp. 91-92). His conclusions can easily be summarized. He begins with the burial date ("C'est la date fondamentale, que nous devons à la traditions de l'église de Tours, remontant à l'événement" p. 31.). Then with statements made in Sulpicius, he outlines this chronology for the life of Martin:

ca.	315	Birth of Martin
	325	Beginning of his catechumenate
	330	His conscription
	334	His active military service
	337	His baptism
	339	His withdrawal from the army
	371	His consecration as bishop
	385	His presence at the court of Trèves
	397	His burial

48) *Iulianus se casere gecwæð to gefeohte*: Sulpicius reports that the emperor Julian assembled an army at the city of the Vangiones, modern Worms (Peebles, p. 108). C. Jullian dates the episode 356 (*REA*, XII (1921), 264; see also his *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, 1908-1926), VII, 256.).

51) *ne on ðam gefeohte his handa afȳlan*: Apparently Martin, who was not a coward, wished to avoid shedding human blood. His legal and moral position in this case has been the subject of much discussion in terms of Christian pacifism. Leclerq presents some interesting texts relevant to the subject. He quotes (*DACL* XI, 1150-1152) Martin's own words from the Sulpician life: "Christi ego miles sum; pugnare mihi non licet." Martin was claiming exemption from shedding blood simply because he was a Christian, not on the more common grounds of being a cleric (which he was not). The basis of Martin's argument is that he was called to be Christ's soldier; he cannot be the soldier of any earthly prince. He must fight evil, not other men. Leclerq quotes Tertullian (*Ad Martyres*, chap. 3) and St. Cyprian (*Epist.* X, 2) to support Martin's position. The 74th. canon, to quote one appropriate text, gives a summary of their positions: "Christianus ne fiat propria voluntate miles, nisi sit coactus a duce. Habeat gladiam, caveat ne criminis effusi sanguinis fiat reus." Canon 75 says: "Si compertum est sanguinem ab eo esse effusum a participatione

mysteriorum abstineat." Because Martin adhered to this precept, the victory of the morning was given to him by God. (This episode is more fully related by Sulpicius.) Leclerq comments: "Cette victoire fut bien la victoire que devait accorder le Christ à son soldat: pleine soumission de l'ennimi, pas de morts, pas de sang repandu: ut subactis sine sanguine hostibus nemo moreretur."

62) *hilarium*: Sulpicius tells us that this is the bishop of Poitiers. Martin's meeting with St. Hilary (bishop 350-367) occurs before the latter was banished to Phrygia by order of Constantius (356). See Jullian in *REA* (1921) XII, 270-272. Hilary's return, in Sulpicius *Vita Martini* (Chap. 6) took place in 360-361. Hilary was one of the most distinguished scholars of his time. His writings on the Trinity are of fundamental importance and were motivated by the spread of Arianism. They form the fundamental reference for later theologians on the matter. Augustine and Aquinas quote him regularly in their discussions of the Trinity. See *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace (London, 1877) and J. E. Emmenegger, *The Functions of Reason and Faith in the Theology of St. Hilary of Poitiers* (Washington, 1948).

68) *hine sloh mid æxe on his heafod*: Sulpicius states that one of the robbers merely poised the ax ("in caput eius *librasset ictum*") while the other restrained the blow. It

seems that Ælfric has his own -- more dramatic -- version of the story.

75-77) These lines are missing from MS V where the top of f. 59^v is mutilated.

88) Arrianes gedwyld: Arianism involved the contemporaries of Martin in one of the major theological controversies of early Christian times. It is named for Arius, an Alexandrian priest (d. 336) who was its original proponent. Its basic teaching was that only the Father, in the Trinity, is God and that divinity could not be attributed to Christ nor the Holy Spirit. This view was condemned by local bishops in Alexandria, but Arius, apparently a persuasive and energetic man, engaged the support of many other prelates in Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. The doctrine spread quickly. In fact, there were times when it seemed Ariainism would prevail. It was fought by Hilary in his De Trinitate and by St. Athanasius. The antagonisms became fierce and involved exile, persecution, and imprisonment. It does not seem that Martin, whose training was not scholarly, was able to cope adequately in the manner of Hilary, and gave up his fight against the heresy. For a history of Arianism, see H. Gwathin, Studies of Arianism (Cambridge, 1900) and J. N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds (New York, 1960).

Regarding Martin's unsuccessful attempt against the Arians, Jullian says (REA, XII (1921), 275-276):

"Toute l'histoire de cette crise arienne est, on le voit, pleine de mystères et de doutes. Sulpice Sévère, visiblement, n'a pas voulu préciser sur le rôle joué par saint Martin. Son but, en écrivant sa vie à la façon d'un Salluste [that is,

Son but, en écrivant sa

to edify] ce n'est pas dépliquer l'enchaînement des faites, c'est de coudre bout à bout un certain nombre d'épisodes pittoresque et caractéristique; et ces épisodes, il les coisit de manière à faire de Martin un nouveau Crist, tenant tête à Cesar, tenté par le diable, convertissant les gens de mauvais vie, ressuscitant les morts, Evangéliste violent et thaumaturge émérite."

88) *wide geond eorðan*: Sulpicius mentions Illyria. This does not appear in the other life by Ælfric. Illyria is important in the history of Arianism because of the synods held there in 343 and 347-359 (Peebles, p. 112). Here Martin was persecuted by the Arians, Sulpicius tells us, and he retreated to Gallinaria, a rocky island off the Linguarian coast.

96-97) *geðeodde sum hæðen wer*: There seems to be some confusion over the status of this man. Sulpicius does not call him a heathen but a *catechumenus*. In his other life of Martin, Ælfric says "ða com an ge-cristnod man and ge-cuðlæhte to martine."

100) *and hine sylfne astrehte sona ofer ðone deadan*: In doing so, Martin is following the example of two Old

Testament prophets who resurrected the dead. When a boy fell sick and died (III Kings, xvii. 17-24) Elias brought him to life. Eleseus does the same (IV Kings iv. 34).

Raising a person from the dead, though obviously not given as a power of one of the clerical offices, accomplishes essentially the same effect as exorcism. Casting out the devil brings back spiritual life. Restoration of physical life is a clear sign of the power to restore a more important spiritual vitality. There are several events in the life of Christ, notably the raising of Lazarus, which point this out. Ælfric reports the restoration of life to the dead on the part of several saints. There are two such stories in his life of the apostle John (not found in the scriptural accounts of John's life): *Homilies*, I, 55: I, 74. St. Benedict (*Lives*, I, 166) restores the life of a child who had been crushed by a falling wall and the life of a boy brought to him dead in his father's arms (I, 182).

111-112) *þæt turonisce folc hine ða geceas him to leod biscope*: Popular elections such as we see in the lives of all three of these saints, Martin, Cuthbert, and Gregory, were not uncommon in the early days of the church. After the election, the neighboring bishops and clergy would convene to ratify the popular choice. T. Moch distinguishes between the kinds of power or rights acquired. "Election does not confer upon the person the actual office, but it does give him a substantial right (*ius ad rem*) to acquire that office. The person acquires actual title to the office (*ius in re*) when his election is confirmed by proper superiors or, when no confirmation is required, by his own acceptance of the election." See Moch's article "Episcopal Elections," *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington, 1965) and his longer work, *Disqualification of Electors in Ecclesiastical Elections* (Washington, 1958).

149-151) MS V is in very bad condition here and is barely legible. It is punctured and faded. Lines 170-234, f. 60, are out of sequence.

151) *lænan life*: Thorpe translates the passage as "poor life." It is more literally translated as "passing life."

183) *weres mihte*: "The man's might." Thorpe mistakenly translates this as "the wind's might."

189) *sum hæðen man*: This event takes place, according to Sulpicius, in the country of the Aedui, whose chief city was Augustudunum, now Autun.

191-192) *Ða feoll se cwellere afyrht underbæc*: In Sulpicius, the pagan shows no hesitation, but falls back when he raises up his arm. He then begs for mercy.

196-197) *sum mæden he gehælde mid gehalgodum ele*: Christ also heals a maiden in the New Testament, but not with the use of holy oil (Luke, viii. 49-56). According to

Sulpicius, this event takes place at Trèves. But the story, as reported here, is not in the same sequence we find in Sulpicius. It occurs later in his *Vita* and in its place he reports the interruption by Martin of a sacrificial rite (chap. 20). Ælfric's sequence is identical in both lives.

205) *cnapa wæs awed wunderlice þurh deofol:* At this point, Martin is exercising the office of exorcist, alluded to before. Although omitted by Ælfric, this is the office which Sulpicius describes in chap. 5 when it is bestowed on Martin by Hilary. It was one of the minor orders entered by those preparing for ordination. Those orders were received in the following sequence: porter, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdiaconate, diaconate, priesthood.

The office of exorcist is based ultimately on Christ's example of casting out devils. Christ bestowed the power of exorcism on his disciples at the same time that he gave them the power to heal miraculously (Cf. Matt. x. 1-3). Many of the fathers treat of the matter and Leclerq produces passages from Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, Athanasius, Hilary, and others which deal with the matter (*DACL* V, 964-978). In most cases, as in the life of St. Martin, formulae and ritual were important. Martin's life includes several instances of exorcism and similar incidents occur in Ælfric's life of St. Julian (*Lives*, I, 98). A cry from the demons at the recognition of divine power is part of the stock reaction. As a prototype of the ritual as it appears in the lives of various saints, we may note passages from the life of Christ (Cf. Matt. viii. 28-32; Mark v. 1-20; Mark i. 23-28).

Ælfric describes Julian's exorcism in a similar manner; the demons cry in anguish: "Gewitað fram us, we synd wraðe geswæncte and mid fyre for-numene; for Julianes æfre fram ðam dæge þ ge hine ærest dræhton" (*Lives*, I, 98).

210-211) *se awyrgeda gast gewat of ðam men ut ðurh his gesceapu*: In Sulpicius we find: "nec tamen exire ei per os liceret, foeda reliquens vestigia flux ventris egestus est." Ælfric makes sexual what was merely scatological in Sulpicius.

212-213) *Martinus gelacnode mid ænlipium cosse*: Christ does not cure lepers with a kiss. One may speculate about sources and analogues from folk tales, particularly about shape shifters. In many such tales, a beautiful enchanted maiden, transformed into some repulsive animal, is restored to her original shape by a kiss. Cf. the ending of *Libeaus Desconus*.

222-223) *Oft hine geneosodon englas of heofenum*: Holy Mary, two apostles, Peter and Paul with Thecla and Agnes, do not appear in Sulpicius. They do appear in the other life by Ælfric (I, 265). Sulpicius instead reports a personal encounter with Martin at this point. They discuss the success and important nature of the biography.

231) *heora leasungum*: Thorpe translates this as "their leasings," which is archaic for "their deceits."

232 ff.) Many of these miracles are familiar from later saints' lives. They serve no particular purpose and often serve as entertainment for an audience eager to hear wonders. They provide humor from seeing the devil in distress (compare the later morality plays).

267-268) These lines are missing because of mutilation at top of f. 61^v in MS V.

276) *De Eius Obitu*: There is no break here in MS G. The title is omitted in V. From this point on, Ælfric uses as his source *The History of the French* by Gregory of Tours (I, 48).

283-284) *Ða geseah he swýmman scealfran on flode*: Bosworth calls the *scealfran* a "sea gull" but Thorpe's *plungeon* is very appropriate. It is a diving bird of the genus *colymbus* (*OED*). In likening the birds to the devil, Martin displays here the kind of mentality which one sees manifest in the *Physiologus*. Like the whale, the birds here dip for unsuspecting souls.

300) *soðlice*: This is *truly*. Thorpe neglects to translate this word.

From line 300 to the end, MS V is in very bad condition, most of the time illegible, and not susceptible to any reliable reading. The lower left corner is torn from the page".

319-320) *halige englas singan on his forðsiðe*: The angels are commonly thought of as welcoming into heaven the souls of the faithfully departed. At the burial service, the Christian liturgy provided this antiphon to be sung: "In paradisum deducant te angeli; in tuo adventu suscipiant te martyres, et perducant te in civitatem sanctam Jerusalem. Chorus Angelorum te suscipiant et cum Lazaro quondam paupere aeternam habeas requiem" (*Liber Usualis* (Tournai, 1952), pp. 1708-09. Cf. Also *Hamlet*, V, ii, 371).

329) A large blot obscures many words on this folio page in MS C. The bracketed portions of the following words are completely illegible: line 329) [Seo]; 330) [Turonisce]; 331) Pictauienscis[ce]; 332) ylca[n þe]; 333) burch[scire]; 335) Bet[wux]; 336) [geendod and bu]tu.

Line 349 is followed by the *Excusatio Dictantis* which is not related to the Martin homily and therefore not included in this edition.

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The following glossary is according to the definitions found in J. Bosworth and T. Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (Oxford, 1898). Not all occurrences are cited, but several are giving for various forms. In many cases, this amounts to citing all examples.

In the spelling I have kept the form of the text, in the case of variants, rather than altar any to the regular form. The abbreviations used are:

pret.-preterite
indic. - indicative
subj. - subjunctive
ger. - gerund
inf. - infinitive
imper. - imperative

n.-nominative
g. - genitive
d. - dative
a.-accusative
inst. - instrumental
s. - singular
p. - plural

m. - masculine
f. - feminine
n. - neuter
adj. - adjective
adv. - adverb
anom. v. - anomalous verb
pret. pres. - preterite present

Weak verbs are designated by Roman numerals (W I) and strong by Arabic.

Glossary

a - ever (adv) G313; C288; M9,76,307.

abbod m. abbot, gs. G43.

abbudysse f. abbess, ns. G43.

abidan, 1, to await; pret. 3s. C382; M308.

Abraham, M316.

abredan, 3, to draw; pret. sub. 3s. C141.

ac, conj. but; G21,32,51,115; C13,30,81; M36,51,60.

acennan, W I, to produce; pp. G17; M3.

acwellan, W I, to kill; inf. M190.

acwencan, WI, quench; pret. ind. 3s. C149.

adilegian, W II, destroy; pret. ind. 3s. G167.

adl, f. disease, sickness; ns. G143; C108,334. ds. G145.

adlig, adj. sick, diseased; nsm. C107,335; dsm. G46,362;
dpm. C333.

adreogan, 2, lead; inf. C195; pret. ind. 3p. G158

adune, adv. down; C70; M284

adwæscan, W I, suppress, extinguish; inf. C31,147;
pret. ind. 3s. C159; M147.

adydan, W I, kill, destroy; pret. indic. 3s. G111.

æddre, adv. quickly; G208.

æfre, adv. ever; C361; M165.

æfter, adv. after; G4,31,35,37; C8,9,33,35; M47,52,77.

æftergenga, m. successor; np. G300; C395

ægðer, pron. each (of two), either; G189; C8.

æht, f. property, possession; acc.p. G46

ælc, pron. each, any, every; ds. C317.

Ælflæd (see notes); C253,282,346.

Ælfred, G11.

Ælfremed, adj. strange, extraneous; ds. G251.

Ælle (see notes); G94

Ælmihtig, adj. almighty; nsm. G220,288; C13,127,162.
acc.s.m. C204; d.s. G312; C5.

Ælþeodig, adj. strange, foreign; n.s.m. C304.

Ænig, pron. and adj. anyone, any; n.s.m. C147; M128,259
d.s.m. M257.

Ænlipig, adj. each, single; d.s.m. G142; M212.

Æn, pron. and adj., one; a.s.m. G118; M20,30.

Ær, adv. before, formerly; G48,123,133; C58,129,154; M34,
115,120.

Ærende, n. message; d.s. C289.

Ærend gewrit, n. written message; acc.s. M217.

Ærendraca, m. messenger; d.p. G126; ap.G276; a.p. G283.

Ærest, adj. first; n.s.m. G110; M7; M22.

Ærist, f. resurrection; d.s. M324.

Æt, pret. at; G66,124,125; from; M106,218; of; C77,103, 128.

Ætbredan, 3, take away, withdraw; inf. M66; pret. ind. 32.
G8. pp. G150.

Æteowian, W II, appear, manifest (oneself); pret. indic.
3s. M25,40,142.

Ætforan, prep. at, close by, before; G148; C121; **Ætforam**
C335.

Æðel, adj. noble; a.s.f. C346; n.s.m. C300; a.s.m. C202;

Æðelboren, adj. noble-born; n.sm. G20; M7.
d.s.m. G16; d.p.m. M4.

Æðelborenysse, f. nobility, noble birth; acc. s. G21,
47.

Æþelbyrht (see notes); G229,284; Æðelbriht G239,260.

Æðellice, adv, nobly, elegantly; G72.

Ætlutian, W II, to lurk, to lie hid; pret. indic. 3s. G131.

Ætslidan, 1, to slip, slide; pret. indic. 3s. M218.

Ætsomne, adv, together, at once; C379; M130.

Ætstandan, 6, stop, stand near; inf. M270; pret. indic. 3s. M174.

Ættrigan, W II, extinguish; inf. C158.

Æwe, n, wife, law; n.s. C325.

Æx, f. axe; d.s. M68.

afandian, W II, try, test, prove; pret. indic. 3s. G138.

afedan, W I, to feed, nurture; inf. C123; pret. indic. 3s. C128; pp. M6

afindan, 3, to find; inf. M35.

afligan, W I, to drive away; pret. indic. 3s. C109,230, 363; M91.

afylan, W I, to defile, pollute; inf. M5.

afyllan, W I, to fill; pret. indic. 3s. C200.

afyrhtan, W, I. pp. C106; G212; M53,192.

agen, adj. own, proper, particular; d.s.m. G236; d.s.m. G45; M17

Agna, f. M226.

agyltan, W II, to be guilty; pres. indic. 1pl. G156.

ahebban, 6, to lift up; pp. G294,297; inf. G159

aheawan, 7, to hew; inf. M163; pret. indic. 3pl. M171.

ahon, 7, to hang, crucify; pret. indic. 3s. M107.

ahreddan, W. I, rescue, set free; pret. indic. 3s. G180; C156; M217,271,267.

aht, n. aught, anything; acc. s. M315.

ahwar, adv. somewhere, anywhere; M170

ahyldan, W I, to incline; pp. M170

alædan, W I, to lead, bring; inf. M332.

alefan, W I, to grow weak, feelbe; pp. C36.

Alleluia, G96

aluton, W I, to bow, bend; pp. aleat, M190.

afyfan, W I, to permit, grant; pp. M127,208.

alysan, W II, to free, redeem; pret. indic. 3s. G237; M161.

ameldian, W II, to betray, make known, mention; pres. indic. 1s. C284. pret. indic. 3s. M17.

Amen, G313; C403; M349.

an, pron. and adj. one. n.s.m. M142,68; g.s.m. C29,260,324; g.p. G252; C38,156,203; acc.s.f. G193; C240; M116,148;

ancer lif, n., life of an anchorite; acc.s. C195 d.s. C250.

ancer setl, n. hermitage; d.s. C366,383.

and, conj. G5,7,8,10,17; C4,15,23,33,38; M5,7,8.

anda, m. envy, malice, hatred; acc.s. C203.

andetnyssa, f. confession of praise; n.s. G158.

andettere, m. confessor; n.s. M3.

andian, W II, to feel envy; pret. indic. M18.

andswaru, f. answer; d.s. G285.

andwerdan, W I. to answer; inf. G4; C372; pret. indic. 3s. G138.

andwerdnyss, f. presence; C148; M228,242.

andwerd, adj. present; d.s. G59; C113; M271

andwlita, m. face, countenance; n.s. M322; g.s. G71.

anfeald, adj. simple; acc. s. f. C8.

Angelcynn, n. English Race; n.s. G277; d.s. G11,199,210.

angin, n. a beginning, resolve; d.s. G54.

Angle, n. English people, Angles; n.p. G83,84.

anmodlice, adv. with one accord; G116; C44,287; M125.

anrædnysse, f. steadfastness; G214; M120

anstandan, 6, part. anstandende solitary. C195

ansund, adj. sound; d.s.f. M222.

ansyne, f. face, vision; a.s. G158

anðracian, W II, to dread, to deplore; part. C180.

anþræc , adj, dreadful, horrible; d.s. M157.

apostol, m. apostle; n.s. G3,7. n.p. C310; d.p. M225.

apostolic, adj. apostolic; d.s. G61; g.s. G99,301.

Aprilis (Latin) April; C1.

aræran, W I, to erect; pret. ind. 3s. M95,110,122;
ger. C249,338.

ardlice, adv. quickly, immediately; C353; M77.

aren, pret. indic. 3s. of irnan, 3; to run; M11; C11; M205.

arfæst, adj. generous, kind; n.s.m. G175; d.s. C32.

arfæstnys, f. kindness; n.s. M261.

arisan, 1, to arise; pret. indic. 3s. M151,198.

arleas, adj. impious, without honor; n.s.m. M192,194.

Arrianes (see note); M88.

arwurðe, adj. honorable, worthy; n.s. C39.

asendan, W I. to send; Pret. indic. 3s. G100,118,202,209;
C15,104,174; M114.

aseow, pret. indic. 3s. of asawan, 7, to sow; C218.

aspendan, W I, to spend; pret. indic. 3s. G46.

aspringan, 3, to spring forth; C208; M14,88.

astellan, W I, to put forth, publish; pret, indic. 3s. C314.

astigan, 1, go, move, walk; pret. indic. 3s. G6; C257; M180.

astreccan, W I, stretch, prostrate oneself; pret. indic. 3s. M100,191; pp. G231; C98.

astyrian, W I, stir, move; pp. M297.

atelic, adj. horrible; n.s.m. M142.

atogenum, pp. of ateon, 2, draw out, drag out; M190.

atter, n. poison; g.s. M91.

atugon, pret. ind. 3pl. of ateon,2,to draw; C295.

Augustinus (see notes) G207,226,232.

aweddan, W I, to be mad; pp. M200, 205; pret indic. 3s. G192.

aweg, adv, away; C157,183,224; M195,209,267.

awendan, W I, to turn; inf. G169; C317; M160; pret. indic. 3s. G48; C211; M82,209.

aweorpan, 3, cast, throw; pret. indic. 3s. G123; C248,349. pp. M58.

awestan, W I. destroy, lay waste; part. G113,143,151.

awiht, n. aught, anything; a.s. C48.

awreccan, W I arouse, awake; pp. awreht M342.

awritan, 1, to write, pret. indic. 3s. C9.

awyllan, W I, to boil; inf. C51.

awyrdan, W I, to corrupt; pres. sub. 3s. C140.

awyrgian, W II, to curse; pp. M228;210.

axian, W II, to ask, inf. M314; pret. ind. G82; C349; M77.

axe, f. ash; d.p. M310.

bærman, n. porter; n.p. C337.

basing, m. cloak; acc. s. M36; g.s. M38.

be, prep. about; G12,14,68; C165,185; M84,291.

bealcettan, W I, to belch, utter forth; pret. indic. 3s. G36.

beam, m, a tree; d.s. M168.

bearn, n. a child; n.s. C265; M15; n.p. G152.

bebeodan, 2. command, announce; pret. indic. 3s. G233,300.
bebiddan, 5, to pray, command; pret. indic. 3s. M129.
bebod, n. command; d.s. G25.

bebyrgan, W I, to bury; pret. indic. 3s. C392.

bec, a.p. of boc, f. book. G9.

becuman, 4, become, happen, befall; pret. indic. 3s. G109; M292; pret. indic. 3p. G229; C95.

Beda, C6,10.

bedælan, W I. deprive; pret. indic. 3s. C205.

bediglian, W II. cover, conceal; pres. indic. 2s. C112.

bedydrian, W II. to deceive; pret. indic. 3s. C145.

befeallan, 7. to fall; pres. indic. 3s. G296.

befon, 7 sieze on; pp. befangen, G53; C41.

begen, adj. both; C95.

begietan, 5, get, acquire; pret. indic. 3s. C333.

beginnan, 3, begin; pret. indic. 3s. C179,192,256; M72.

behadode (gehadod), W I, to ordain; pret. indic. 3s. G273.

behatan, 7, to promise; pret. indic. 3p. C242. pret. indic

behealdan, 7, look at, observe; pret. indic.3s. G73.

behiwian (gehiwian), W II. to dress, fashion; pp. M239.

behofian, W II, to need; pret. indic. 3p. G252.

behycgan, W III, to consider, bear in mind; pret. indic. 3s. M33.

behreowsung, f. a lamentation; a.s. G147.

behydan, W I, to conceal, hide; inf. C163.

beladian, W II. to excuse; pres. indic. 1s. M307.

belæfan, W I. to remain, be left. pres. indic. 3s. C266.

bend, m, bond, chain; a.p. M75; i.s. M159.

ben, f. prayer, petition; g.d.s. **bene**, G161,196; C377; M106, 159; d.p. **benum**, G176,204; C157.

beon, (**wesan**), anom. v. to be;
present forms: 2s. **eart** C20; 3s. **is** G6,23,24,92,160; C47, 269,274; M4,5,6; 3p. **sindon** G81; **sind** G84,330; M302; G90, 91,142,150. subj. G15,96,135; C134,400; M45,347.

forms of **beon**: 2s. **biþ** G146,170; C260,261,269.

preterite forms of **wesan**: 3s. **wæs** G20,25,28; C11,44, 75,88; M3,5,6; 3s. subj. G76,77,82,88; C48,77,139; M53,103; 3p. subj. G18,71,74; C139; M15,16,70.

beon, m. bee; g.p. C84.

beorhtnyss, f. brightness; d.s. C82.

beorhtre, adj. comp. brighter; n.s.m. M321.

beoð (see **beon**) G171,282.

beran, 4. to carry; pret. indic. 3s. C340; 3p. C229; M158,340.

beswican, W I, to deceive; pret. indic. 3s. M338; pp. G124; C143; M230.

bere, m. barley; ac. s. C217.

bereafian, W II, rob; inf. C219.

bereowsung (**behreowsung**), f, lamentation; n.s. G167; d.s. G135.

besargian, W II. to lament; pret. indic. 3s. C342.

beseon, 5. to see, look; pret. indic. 3s. C348; M235.

bessettan, W I. to set by, set near; pret. indic. 3p. M336.

bestandan, 6. to stand near, around; pres.indic. 3p. G151.

bestang, to place; pret. indic. 3s. M206.

bestreowian, W II. to bestrew; pp. M318.

bestridan, W II. to bestride a horse; pret. indic. 3s. C53.

beswican, 1, to deceive; pres. indic. 3s. M287.

beswician, W II. to make with toil; pp. beswuncenum, C215.

bet, adv. better; C329.

betæcan, W I. entrust, commit; pres. indic. 2s. M299; pp. M69.

beðian, W II. to bathe; pret. indic. 3p. C102; pret. indic. 3s. C39,55.

beðorfan, pret. pres. to need; pret. indic. 3s. C169.

betwux, pret. between, among; G271,279; C142,255; M121,335.

betwynan, pret. between, among; M329.

bewæfan, W I. to enfold, wrap around; pret. indic. 3s. M38,44.

bewepan, 7, to weep; inf. G194.

bewerian, W II. to defend, restrain; pres. indic. 3p. M301.

beworpen pp. of beweorpan, 3. to cast down, throw; C197.

biddan, 5, ask, pray; inf. M346; pres. indic. 3p. C222; pret. indic. 3s. G99,120; C174,187,240; M106,192; pret. indic. 3p. C103,294,337. part. C42,108; M12. impert. C282.

bigan, W I. to bend; pret. indic. 3s. M169. pret. indic. 3p. C293.

bige adj. n.p.m. pliant; C399.

biggeng, m. worship, cult; d.s. G8.

bigleofa, m. nourishment, sustenance; A.s. G45,245,252; C124,318.

bile, m? bill of a bird; i.p. C229.

bilewitness, f. mildness; d.s. G257.

binnon, prep. within, inside of; G42; C67,323; M97.

biscop, m. bishop; n.s. C3,291; M118; g.s. C72,298.

biscopdom, m. province of a bishop, episcopal dignity;
d.s. M333.

biscophad, m. state of a bishop; g.s. C388.

biscopstol, m. bishop seat or residence; n.s. G201; d.s. G275.

bist (see beon) G297.

bitter, adj. bitter; d. p. C27.

bið (see beon) G146,170; C260,261,269.

blæd, m. breath, blast, wind; n.s. C157,179; d.s. C101.

bletsung, f. blessing; a.s. C102,105,337.

blind, adj. deprived of sight, blind; d.s. C58.

bliss, f. joy, bliss; d.s. G224; C6; M171,189.

blissigan, W II. to rejoice; inf. G290,291. pp. G281.

bliðe, adj. joyful; n.p.m. M320. d.s.n. C377.

bliðelice, adv. joyfully; M256.

blod, n. blood; g.s. M272.

bobian (bodian), W II. to preach; pret. indic. 3s. G235.
inf. G244; C160; pret. indic. 3s. C139; part. G250; C64.

boc, f. book; n.a.s. G12,14; d.p. G298.

boclande (see note) n. C352.

boclic, adj. bookish; d.s.f. M73; d.s.f. G28.

bodig, n. stature, body; d.s. M159.

bodung, f. preaching; n.s. G205; a.s. G269; d.s. C120;141;
a.p. C314.

bog, m. bough; d.p. M169.

botl, n. an abode; g.s. C207.

bræð, m. an odor; breath; d.s. C83.

brand, m. torch, brand; d.s. M191; d.p. C146.

brastlian, W II. to crackle; part. M172; C146.

breost, n. breast; d.s. G34.

brice, ?. use, service; d.s. C209.

bridd, m. the young of any of the feathered tribe; d.p. C229.

bridel, m. a bridle; d.s. C185.

bringan, W I. to bring; inf. C212,217; pret. indic. 3s. C89; pret. indic. 3p. G67; C236.

broðor, m. brother; n.s. G287; indicl. in sing. C174,262, 265.

brucan, 2 use, partake; inf. C258,262,282; pret. indic. 3s. C56,168,227.

brym, ? the sea; n.s. C226; d.s. C92,198.

bugan, 3, to bow; pret. indic. 3s. M62, 203.

bugian, W II, to inhabit land, to cultivate; inf. C200 part. G114.

burh, f. fort, walled town; n.s. G107,113,178; d.p. G304.

burhscir, f. province; d.s. M333.

burhwaran, m. citizens of a city n.p. M329,336.

buton, prep. without, except; G110,113,115; C125; M11,33.

butu, adj. both; M336.

bydel, m. messenger; a.p. G202; g.p. G205,206.

byrig, f. a city; d.s. M5,95; n.s. M134.

byrne, f. a corslet of mail; d.s. M57.

byrnende, part of byrnan, W I.to burn; C156.

bysmor, ? reproach, insult; a.s. M257.

Cantwarebyrig (see note), G230,246.

casere, m. an imperor; d.s. G118,127; n.s. 128. M48; g.s. G124; M15.

ceafl, m. a bill, beak; a.p. M209.

ceastergewaru, f. citizens of a town; n.p. G105,264.

ceaster, f. city; d.s. M123.

cempa, m. soldier, champion; n.s. M7,24; d.s. M49; g.p. M8,15.

ceosel, m? sand, gravel; d.s. C98,103.

ceowan, 2. to gnaw; M207.

cepan, W I. to take; pret. indic 3s. G130; C189; M115.

cild, n. child; n.s. C15,18,341; g.s. C29,33.

childlic, adj. childish, of children; n.s.m. C29.

childhade, m. childhood; d.s. G28; M155.

clæn, adj. clean; a.s.f. G260; d.s.f. M223.

clud, m. rock; d.p. C205.

clypian, W II. call, cry out; pres. indic. 3s. G163; part. G182;M116. imperat. G179.

clywen, ? a circlet; n.s. M246.

cnapa, m. a boy; n.s. M205,251; g.p. G73.

cneow, n. knee; a.s. C35,46; g.p. C98; d.p. C108.

cniht, m. boy, youth, servant; n.s. C335,338; M20.

Constantium (see note), M22.

coss, m. a kiss; d.s. M213; C32.

costnung, f. temptation; a.s. C159.

coðe, f. a disease, sickness; d.s. C325; M213; d.p.M266.

cræft, m. power, craft; n.s. M128,189.

cric, f. crutch, staf; d.p. C36.

Crist, Christ; n.s. M40; g.s. G92,266,270; d.s. M46,52.

cristen, adj. Christian; n.p. G77; G263; M71.

cristendom, m. Christendom; d.s. G265; a.s. G277;

cuma, m. stranger; n.s. C49,86; d.s. C77; g.s. C77; g.p. C76.

cuman, 4. come; pret. indic. 3s. C39,54,78; M99,204,306; pret. indic. 3p. C99,228,243; M67,105,187.

cumliðnyss, f. hospitality; d.s. C79.

cuð, pp. of cunnan, pret. pres. to know, be able; G15; M275.

Cuðberhtus, n.s. C3,10,25,32; g.s. C2,14,35.

cuðlice, adv. certainly, manifestly; M223.

cwealm, m. or n. death, destruction, pestilence; n.s. G112,193,197 d.s. G134.

cwellere, m. killer; n.s. M192.

cweðan, 5. speak, say; pret. indic. 3s. G80,84,96,101; C44,123,126,132; M51,53,71; pret. indic. 3p. G20; C244; M333.

cwyde, ? sermon, discourse; d.s. M275; G168.

cyfes boren, adj. base born; n.s.m. C303.

cyle, m. a cold, coldness; n.s. M30.

cyme, adj. coming; g.s.m. M94.

cyne gyrd, f. royal sceptre; d.s. M61.

cynelic, adj. royal; a.s.f. M49.

cyning, m. king. n.s. G11,93; C290,301; M58; g.s. C254; d.s. G234,260,284; C268.

cype cniht, m. servant, slave; a.p. G70.

cypman, m. merchant; n.p. G67.

cyrce, f. church; d.s. G132; C355,392; M11,14.

cyrran, W I. return; pret. indic. 3s. G275; C151; M92.

cyssan, W I. to kiss; pret. indic. 3s. C343.

cystelice, adv. munificently; C401.

cyte, f. a cottage; d.s. C66,69.

cyðað, W I. relate, announce; pres. indic. 3s. G9; pret. indic. 3s. G127,240,276; C188; M280 cyðere, m. witness, martyr; n.s. M136. d.s. M145

cyðð, f. knowledge, intimacy; a.s. C167.

dæd, f. deed, act; a.s. M100; d.p. C22

dædbote, f. penitence; d.s. G154.

dæg, m. day; d.s. G4,179,184,305; M344; C37,78,123
d.p. M97.

dæg wist, f. a day's food; g.s. C43.

dæghwomlic, adj. daily; d.p. G45; adv. G268.

dæðerlic, adj. present; d.s. G305.

dæl, m. share, portion; a.s. C133,136; M37.

dælan, W I, to portion out; pret. indic. 3s. M49.

daga, m. day; n.s. G167; d.s. 229; a.p. G310; C232; M309.

daro, ? hurt, damage; a.s. C156.

De (Latin) prep. concerning. M277.
dead, adj. dead; a.s.m. M335.
deadlic, adj. deadly, mortal; d.s.m. C401.

dearnunge, adv. privately, secretly; C111,188.

deað, m. death; n.s. G146; d.s. G147; n.s. C261.
g.s. G168.

dema, m. judge, lord; n.s. G170,186; d.s.G174.

deofellic, adj. devilish; a.s.n. M230; a.s.f. C158.

deofol, m. or n. devil; n.s. C.182,188,311; M77,80;
d.s.M185; n.p. G81.

deor, n. an animal; d.s. M271; a.s. M270.

deorfan, W I. to labor, toil; ger. M35.

Depositio (Latin) death, burial; C2; M2.

Dere (see note) G89,90.

derigan, W II, to injure; inf~~l~~. C182.

diaconhad, m. deaconship; d.s. G65.

digelice, adv. secretly; C.165.

digelnyss, f. secret; d.s. C196; M122,232; a.p. C164.

diht, n? purpose, direction conduct; d.s.C165.

dohtor, f. indecl. daughter; M216

dom, m. judgment, decree; g.s. G173.

don, anom. v. to do; pres.indic. 3s. G66. pret. indic. 3s. C95.

doppettan, W I, to dip often, continually; inf. H284.
drenc, m. a drink; d.s. G56; M130.
dreorig, adj. sad; n.s.m. C180,232,341; M241.

dreoriglice, adv. sadly; C27,264.

dreorignyss, f. sadness; a.s. C30; d.s. C31.

drihten, m. lord, ruler; n.s. M80,100; g.s. C160,302,384.

drohtnian, W II. to dwell with, keep company with. pret. indic. 3s. G44,53; C386; inf. C196;

drohtnung, f. condition, life; a.c. G10; d.s. G64.

drygan, W I. to dry; pret. indic. 3p. C101.

dumb, adj. dumb, speechless; n.s. H155.

durran, pret. pres. to dare; pret. indic. 3p. C165,220.

dwellian, W II. to life, dwell; part. G156.

dwollic, adj. foolish, heretical; a.s.f. M146.

dwollice, adv. foolishly; C150.

dyderung, f. an illusion; a.s. C149.

dymhofe, f. a lurking place; d.s. G130.

dyrstignyss, f. boldness, arrogance; d.s. G294.

dyrstelice, adv. boldly, rashly; C302.

dyslic, adj. witless; a.s.m. C16.

ea, f. indecl. river, stream; G231; M285,293.

eac, conj. also, likewise; G10,278,290; C64,166,230; M38,83,90.

eadberhte (see note), C395.

eadig, adj. holy, happy; n.s.m. G306; C10,72,230. M263,278. n.s.f. C349; d.s.G190,276; C35,170; g.p. C310

eadmod, adj. humble, lowly; n.s.m. M254.

eadmodlice, adv. humbly; G218; C164.

eadmodnyss, f. humility; a.s. M25 d.s. M119.

eage, n. eye; d.p. M311.

eahta, eight; C11.

eahtatyne, eighteen; M47.

eall, adj. all; n.s.m. G104; C29,156,198; g.s.n. G246; d.p.G218; M26,27; g.p. G286; C27,403.

eala, alas: M325.

eald, adj. old; n.s.m. M185; a.p. G166; a.s. G241.

ealdor, m. chief; n.s. M8. d.s. G219.

ealdorman, m. chief; g.s. C324.

eallunge, adv. entirely, utterly; M272; G107,202; C73, 109,196.

eard, m. native soil; d.s. M4,66.

earforðnyss, f. tribution, hardship; d.p. C380.

earm, adj. poor; n.s. C340; M272; d.s. M37.

earmlic, adj. miserable; d.s.f.C325.

earn, m. eagle; n.s.C121; G130; a.s.G127. d.s. C133,136.

eart (see beon), C20.

eaðelice, adv. easily; C149,362.

eawfæst, adj. pious; n.s.m. C166,178,329; M54; n.s.f. C170; d.p.m. C292; M76.

ece, adj. everlasting, eternal; d.s.n. C380; M317,348; g.s.n. G168; d.s.f. G216

Ecgfridus (see note) C258,285,291.

ecnyss, f. eternity; d.s. G313; C402.

edlean, n. reward; d.s. G216; C136; g.s. G224.

efen cempa, m. companion; n.p. M26.

efen eald, m. coevals, of the same age; d.p. C12.

efne, interj. lo, behold; G141; C99,130,351; 44.

efstan, W I. to hasten; inf. G268.

eft, adv, again, after; G35,76,81; C59,227,232; M37,155.

egeslic, adj. terrible; g.s. M242.

eglian, W II. trouble, pain, vex; pret. indic. 3s. M255.

ehtan, W I. attack, pursue; part. M285.

ehtnyss, f. persecution; a.s. G254.

Eius (Latin) his; M277.

ele, m. oil; d.s. C327; M197; g.s. M154.

elles, adv. otherwise; C165.

embe, prep. about; M155.

emtwa, in two; M.36.

endebyrdlice, adv. orderly, in order of events; C7.

endebyrdnyss, f. order, method; a.s. C299.

endemes, adv. in like matter, likewise; C201; M26.
M291,297.

endlyfta, the eleventh; d.s. C396.

engel, m. an angel. n.s. C57,88; M221; a.p. C51; n.p. M188
g.p. G85,86,304. d.p. M43.

Engla lande, England; G78.

Englisc, adj. English; d.p. G69; n.p. G67; n. English (language),
G11,15,24.

eornostlice, adv. earnestly; G153,188.

eorðe, f. earth; d.s. C218,398; M88,157,158.

eorðbugigend, m. an earth dweller; d.s. G150.

eorðlic, adj. earthly; a.s. C89.

eower, adj. your; n.s. G216; g.s. G222,224; d.s. C224.

Episcopi (Latin) of the bishop; C2.

ercebiscop, m. archbishop; n.s. C286; d.s. G272,273.

ercehad, m. an archbishop's pall, his dignity,
the office of archbishop; n.s. G301.

estfull, adj. devout; n.s. C317; d.s. M94.

eðel, m. or n. one's own country or land; d.s. G39,223;
C224,231; g.s. C282.

eðelicor, adv. comp. more easily; M40.

Etherium (see note) G272.

Euantius (see note), M249.

facenlice, adv. deceitfully; M113.

fæder, m. father; indecl. G18,19,40; M7,17; n.a.pl.
G151; M16,84.

fæderlice, adv, paternally; C109.

fægere, adv. beautifully; G240; C138.

fæger, adj. beautiful, fair; g.s. G71,80; g.s. C207;
g.p. C363; M46.

fægnian, W-II. rejoice, be glad; pret. indic. 3s. M45.

fæmne, f. a virgin, damsel, woman; n.s. C349; M113.

færeld, n. journey; g.s. C56,94; G212; d.s. M79.

færlic, adj. sudden, unexpected; g.s. M91; d.s. G143.

færlice, adv. suddenly; C28,142,335; M97,187,246.

fæst, adj. constantly, solid, firm; d.s. M186.

fæsten, n. a fast, fasting; d.s. G249.

fæsthafel, adj. sparingness, economy; d.s. G33.

fagen, adj. joyful, glad; n.s. M94.

faran, 6, go travel; inf. M267; pret. indic. 3s. G227; M139; pret. indic 3p. C138. part. M45.

faru, f. a trip, journey; d.s. G210; C125.

feallan, 7, to fall, die; part. G194; M166.

fealwe, adj. pale yellow; d.s. C103.

feawa, adj. few; a.pl. M309. d.p. M97.

feccan, W I. fetch, bring; inf. G302.

fedan, W I, feed, rear; inf. C135,214.

fefor, m. fever; d.s. M217,309.

fela, adj. indecl. many; G278,288,308; C115,322,393; M131.

feld, m. a field; d.s. C61.

Felix (see note), G19.

feohtan, 3, to fight; ger. C302.

feoll, pret. indic. 3s. of **feallan**, 7, fall; C69,359,373; M191.

feond, m. fiend, devil; nss. C144; M66,201; g.p. M287.

feondlic, adj. fiendish, heathen; g.s. M187.

feorh, n. or m. life; a.s. M;08.

feorran, adv. from afar; M156.

feorðan, fourth; d.s. G184.

feorwertig, forty; G227.

ferian, W I. carry; inf. C46; M156; C352; pret. indic.

feran, WI; to, journey; pret. indic. 3s. C64,86,119; M114,155; pret. indic. 3p. C125,130;

feðung, f. gait; a.s. C37,46.

fifta, fifth; n.s. G19.

finger, m. finger; a.p. M208.

fisc, m. a fish; g.s. C133; d.s. C131.

fixoð, m? a fishing; g.s. M. 289.

flan, f. arrow, dart; n.s. C158.

fleam, m. flight; d.s. M212; g.s. G130; C189.

fleogan, W I. to fly; part. M105,187; C232;

fleon, 2. flee, run; inf. C183; pret. Indic. 3s. C121,233; 201; pret. indic. 3p. C202,225.

fligan, W I. put to flight; pret. indic. 3s. C157.

flod, n. or m. flood, flow of water; a.s. C248; d.s. C247; M284.

flor, f. floor; d.s. C207; M310.

flowan, 7. to flow. part. C197; C373.

flyse, n. fleece, wool; d.s. C101.

foda, m. food; a.s. C89.

folc, n. people; n.s.G77,115,127; C142,147,151; M111,117. g.s. G112; C22,24,192; M150.

folde, f. the land, earth; d.s. M166 .

folgian, W II. to run after, to follow; pret. indic. 3s. M21.

folgoð, m. a train, retinue; d.s. M23.

fon, 7, to seize, to grasp; inf. C265.

for, prep, for, because, since; G20,165; C65,117,158; M223,307.

foreaðe, adv. very easily; C127.

forbeornan, 3, to be destroyed with fire; part. C145.

forberan, 4, suffer, endure; pret. indic. 3s. M256.

forbugan, 2, turn away from, avoid; pret. indic. 3s. M24.

forceorfan, 2 to cut down; pret. indic. 3p. M166,176.

fordwinan, 1, to vanish; pret. indic. 3s. M81.

forealdian, W II. to grow old. pret. indic 2s. M15.

foregleaw, adj. very prudent. n.s. C364.

foresecgan, W III. foretell; pret. indic. 3s. G192; C90;
pp. C17,155,305; G14; M245.

foresceaWian, W II. provide foold. inf. C128.

foresceaWung, f. foresight; d.s. M12.

foresteppan, 6, to go before, intercede; pret. indic. 3plG153.
G144.

forefleon, 2, to flee. pres. indic. 3s. C278. inf. C193.

forgiefan, 5, to give; pret. indic. 3. G245; C115; M267.
pres. indic. 3s. G162

forgiefnyss, f. forgiveness; d.s. M193.

forgyttol, adj. forgiving; n.s. G32.

forhæfednyss, f. restrain; a.s. G56.

forhogian, W III. to neglect, despise; part. G251.

forhradian, W II. to anticipate; pres. indic. 3s. G145.
inf. G158.

forhraðe, adv. very quickly; M45.

forlætan, 7, to leave, abandon; pret. indic. 3p. M291;
pres. indic. 3s. M304; pp. M300. pres. indic. 2s.
M298.

forht, adj. fearful; n.s. M201.

forhtian, W II. to be afraid; part. C189.

forhtung, f. fear; a.s. G162.

fornean, adv. very nearly; M175,220.

forseon, 5, overlook, neglect, despise; pres. indic 2s. C273.

forsuWian, W II. pass over in silence; inf. C117; M258.

forð, prep. out of; M20.

forðan, adv. for that cause; G7,14,85; C178.

forðræsan, W I. to rush forth; inf. C142.

forðdon, anom. v. to put forth; pres. indic. 3s. C364.

forðgangen, 7, to go forth; pres. indic. 3s. M161.

forði, adv. because of that; G147,183.

forðon, adv. for that, because; G225.

forðsiðian, W II. to travel forth; part. C130.

forðsið, m. a journey, a going forth; n.s. G40; M280, 283; d.s. C330,387; M320.

forweorðan, 3. to perish, become nothing; pret. indic. 3s. M87.

forwel, adv. very well, very; G256,268; C393; M89,131.

forðyrnan, 3. to run on; pret. indic. 3s. C26.

forwyrd, f. destruction; d.s. G153.

forwyrnan, W I. to deny; part. M259,262.

foster cild,n. a foster child; a.p. M298.

fot, m. foot; d.s. C339,373; M107; d.p. C103,214,233; a.p. C101; M158.

fotswæð, f. foot print; a.s. C87,94.

forwylm, m. the sole of the foot; a.p. M160.

fraced, adj. abominable; a.p. C272.

fræcednyss, f. peril; a.s. C154; d.p.M279.

fram, prep. from; G8,28,91; C20,141,325; M149;

Francena, adj. of the French g.p. G233.

frecednyss, f. peril, danger; a.s. M90;

fremian, W II. to profit, benefit; pres. indic. 3s. G220.

fremde, adj. strange, foreign; n.s.m. C194.

freolice, adv. freely; G243.

freond, m. friend; g.p. M11. d.p. C330; n.s. M65,86.

frofor, f. consolation, comfort; n.s. C31.

fruma, m. a beginning; d.s. M334.

fugel, m. a bird; n.s. C135; a.p. C224; M286,289; g.p. C231.

fulfremedlice, adv. fully, completely; G53.

fulfremman, W I. to fulfill, perfect; pp. G55.

fulluht, n. baptism; d.s. M60,90; g.s. M12.
ful, adj. rotten, foul; d.s. M87.
fulnyss, f.foulness, stench; a.s. M23.

fultum, m. aid, help; a.s. G215; M91; d.s. C240.

furðon, adv. even so; C216.

fus, adj. ready, prepared; m.s.m. C388.

fyftyne, fifteen; M19.

fylst, f. help, assistance; d.s. G204.

fyr, n. n.s. C147; g.s. C156.

fyren, adj. fiery, burning; n.s. M246.

fyrht, m. fear; d.s. C183.

fyrlen, adj. distant, far; d.s. C161; M66.

fyrst, m. a space of time; d.s. C199,323; G35; M65,102.

fyrwit, n. curiosity; g.s. C115.

fyrwitnyss, f. curiosity; a.s. C109.

gæmnian, W II. to play; part. C18.

gærs, n. grass; d.s. C216.

gamenian, W II. to sport, joke; pret. Indic. 3s. G95.

gan, anom. v. to go; pret. indic. 3s. M268,301; inf. C91,185.

gang, m. a journey; g.s. C115.

gast, m. spirit; a.s. C391; n.s. M211; g.s. C365; M242;
a.p. C363.

gastlic, adj. spiritual, ghostly; a.c. M189; d.s. M391.

ge, pron. 2nd person; d.a.p. eow; G13,15,219; C118,221,223.

ge ... ge , conj. both ... and; G144,189,211; C9.

geættrod, pp. poisoned; M251.

geandettan, W I. confess; pres. indic. 3p. C164.

geandswarian, W II. to answer; pret. indic. 3s. G93.

geandwyrdan, W I, to answer; pres. indic. 3s. G83.

gear, n. a year. a.p. G310,C250; g.s. C260; d.s. C263,
300,388; M47; g.p. C281.
gearcian, W II. to prepare, make ready; inf. C45,188.
gearnfullicor, adj. anxious; n.s. G60.

gearian, W II. to honor, have mercy; imper. G187.

gearo, adj. ready; n.s.m. G102.

gearowe, adj. prepared, ready. n.sm. G254.

gearwurðian, W II.to honor; pret. indic. 3s. G263; M227.

geban, n. a command, decree; n.s. M15.

gebeac, f. sign; d.s. C102.

gebed, n. prayer; d.p. C311;M91,128,260;

gebetan, W I. to make atonement; pres, indic. 3p. C166.

gebicnung, f. a sign; d.s. M141.

gebiddan, 1, to pray; pret. indic. 3s. M149,233.

geboren, pp. of geberan 4, to carry; C339.

gebigan, W I, to bend; pret.indic. 3s. C98; M83. pret.
indic. 3p. G101. pp. G170; M160

gebletsian, W II. to bless; pret. indic. 3s. C332; M265.

gebringan, W I. to bring; inf. C244,290. pret. indic.
3s. G74, M294; pp. M148.

gebroðor, m. brother; d.p. C307; M139,281; n.p. G135,183.

gebudon, pret. indic. 3p. of gebeodan 2, to offer;

gebugan, W I. turn away; pres. indic. 3p. H61,177.

gebunden, pp. of gebindan, 3, to bind; M69,168.
gebyld, adj. brave; d.s. M168.
gebysnung, f. example, d.p. G32; C314.

gecamp, m. warfare; d.s. M19,52.
geceas, 2, to choose; pres indic. 2s. G116,289; M111; C24.
gecunan, W I, to know. pp. C354; M109.

gecoren, pp. of **geceosan**, 2, to choose; C288; M118.

gecigan, W I. to call; pret. indic. 3s. G207.

gecnæwe, adj. acknowledging; n.s. M193.

gecneordlæcan, W I. to be diligent; imper. G31.

gecneordnyss, f. diligence; d.s. C309.; G161,309.

gecristnian, W II. to christianize, catechize; pret. indic. 3s. M12.

gecuman, 4, to come; inf. M224; G184; pret. indic. 3p. G192.

gecweðan, 5. to say, speak; pret. indic. 3s. M48; pp. M5.

gecweman, W I. to please; pret. indic. 3s. M347.

gecweme, adj. pleasant; n.s. G174.

gecygan, W I. to call; pret. indic. 3s. G92

gecynde, adj. genial, kind; natural; n.s. G37; C80.

gecyrran, W I. to turn, convert; pret. indic. 3p. M343; Pret. indic. 3s. C65; inf. G147. pp. M13.

gecyrrednyss, f. turning, conversion; d.s. G49,51,54, 139.

gedælan, W I. to divide; pret. indic. 3s. M34.

gedafenian, W II. to be fit; pres. indic. 3s. G86,96,136; C21.

gedafenlice, adv. properly; C43.

gedeorf, n. labor; d.p. G5; C220.

gedihtan, W I. put in order, arrange; pret. indic. 3s. G306.

gedon, anom. v. to do, make; inf. C175.

gedrefan, W I. to afflict. pp. M99.

gedrefednyss, f. trouble, affliction; d.s. G179.

gedreht, pp. of gedreccan, W I. afflicted; C169.

gedreogan, W I, to peform, to do; pres. indic. 3s. C238.

gedwyld, n. error, heresy; n.s. M88,185; d.s. C111; M135,176.

gedwymer, n. an illusion; d.p. M229.

gedwymorlice, adv, illusively; C146.

gedyrstlæcan, W I. to venture, dare. pret. indic. 3s. C269.

geadmedan, W I. to prostrate, humble; pret. indic. 3s. C107.

geearnian, W II. to deserve; pres. indic. 3s. G178. pret.indic. 3s. G169.

geearnung. f. merit. d.p. G161; C4,393; M264.

geedcucian, W II. to revive. pret. indic. 3s. M101.

geefenlæcan, W I. to imitate; ger. G248.

geefenlæcung, f. imitation. d.s. C310.

geendebyrdan, W I. to set in order; pp. G65.

geendian, W II. to end; inf. C385. pret. indic. 3s.M336.

geendung, f. finish, end. n.s. M278. d.s. C382,397.

gefædera, m. godfather; n.s. G119.

gefæstnian, W II to fix; pret.indic. 3s. G33; M157.

gefeg, n. a joining. d.s. M186.

gefeng, n. captivity; n.s. C132;

gefangen, pp. captured; C134.

gefeoht, n. battle, fight; d.s. M49,51,54.

gefera, m. companion; n.p. C122,132; G86; M286; d.p. G226,305; M25.

gefexode, pp. having hair; G72.

gefleogan, 2, to fly; pp. C131.

gefrætwian, W II. to adorn; pp. G51.

gefrefrian, W II. to comfort; inf. C30; pret. indic. 3s. C181,387; M36.

gefremman, W I. to perform; pres. indic. 3s. G215; pret. Indic. 3s. G149,200.

gefullian, W II. to baptize; pret. indic. 3s. G254; pp. G262; M29,46,102.

gefyllan, W I. to fulfill; pres. indic. 3s. G221; C272; pret. indic. 3s. C345; M244; pp. C305.

gefylsta, m. helper; d.s. G64.

gefyrn, adv. of long ago; G199; C124,296; M278.

geglengan, W I. to adorn; pp. M345; M233; C315.

gegodian, W II. to bestow goods on; pret. indic. 3s. G46.

gegladian; W II. to make happy; pret. indic. 3s. C32.

gegretan, W I. to address, greet; pret. indic. 3s. C187.

gegripan, 1. to grasp; pp. G146.

gehadian, W II. to consecrate; inf. G129; pp. G275.

gehaftan, W I. to afflict ; pp. C47,285,329; M63,134.

gehælan, W I. to cure; pret. indict. 3s. C114,324,362; M153,265; pp. M249.

gehalgian, W II. to consecrate; pp. G132; C20; M118, 163,185.

gehatan, 7, call, name; pp. G93,94; C172,254;367; M4.

gehealdan, 7, to hold; pp. M303; C267.
gehelpan, 3. to help ; pret. indic. 3s. M28; pp. M183.
gehende, adv, near at hand; M134,180,313.

gehlyd, n. noise; d.s. M157.

gehwær, adv. everywhere; G113; C85; M184.

gehwilc, adv. each, every one; d.s. 152; n.s. M287; d.p. G303;C366; M133.

gehyran, W I. to hear; pret. indic. 3p. M125,319. ger.M328; G269
gehyrte, pret. indic. 3s. of gehydan, I, to conceal; M227.

gehyrsumian, W II. to obey; pres. indic. 3s. G218. pret. indic. 3s. C376.

gelacnian, W II. to heal; pret. indic. 3s. M221,212.

gelædan, W I. lead, bring. pp. C176; M19, 103. pret. indic. 3p. C62; M105.

gelæccan, W I. to capture; pret. indic. 3s. G125,131; pp. M18, pret. indic. 3p. M115,339.

gelæran, W I. teach, learn; pp. M63, 238.

gelaðian, W II. to invite; pret. indic. 3s. C347; pp. C113.

gelaðung, f. church, congregation; d.s. G270,302; C308.

geleafa, m. belief, faith; d.s. G9,G304; M73,167,177; a.s. C65.

geleaful, adj. full of faith. g.p. M326. d.p. G237. d.s.f. C119,355.

geled, pp. laid; C48,399.

gelegered; pp. confined to bed; C387.

gelendan, W I. to approach; pret. indic. 3s. G44.

geleornian, W.II. to learn; pret. indic 3p. C390; M116

gelic, n. a likeness;.n.s. C22.

gelica, m. an equal; n.s. G31.

gelicnyss, f. likeness; a.s. M287 .

gelician, W II. pret. indic. 3s. G103; C394.

gelihtan, W I. to lighten; pres. indic. 3s. C49.

gelimpan, 3, happen; pret. indic. 3s. G65,108; C185; M48,147,262; pp. G281; C179.

gelimplic, adj. fit; g.s. C14.

geliðian, W II. to relieve. inf. C48.

gelogian, W II. to place, lodge; pret, indic. 3s. C396; M124.

gelome, adv. often; C48,160,251; M184,228,284.

gelomlice, adv. frequently; C167.

gelustfullian, W II. to be delighted; pret. indic. 3s. G259.

gelyfan, W I. to believe; pret. indic. 3p. G256; M152; pres. indic. 1s. C279; pp. C365.

gemæcca, m. companion; n.s. M8.

gemæne, adj. common, general; n.s. M126.

gemaglic, adj. persevering; d.p. G172,176.

gemagnys, f. perseverence; n.s. G173.

gemetan, W I. to meet with; pres. indic. 3s. G224; C398; M113; pret. indic. 3.s. C81; M29,77; pret. indic. 3p. M67.

gemet, n. degree; d.s. M13.

gemetegian, W II. to embellish; pret. indic. 3s. C316.

gemiltsian, W II. have mercy; imper. M303.

gemot, n. a meeting; C284.

gemunan, W I. to remember; inf. G156; part. G199

gemynd, n. mind, memroy; d.s. G33.

gemyndig, adj. mindful; n.s. C246; M235.

gemyntan, W I. to determine, meditate; pret. indic. 3s. G199

genamian, W II. to name; pret. indic. 3s. M16.

geneadian, W II. to force. pp. G267; inf. G265.

genealæcan, W I. to approach; pret. indic. 3s. M109.

genemnan, W I. to name: pret. indic. 3s. G83.

geneosian, W II. to visit; inf. C178; M248; pret. indic. 3s. C57,367; M65; 3p. C251; M222.

geneosung, f. visit; d.s. C182; M226.

generian, W II. to save; pret. indic. 3s. G91.

genihtsumlice, adv. plentifully; G45.

geniman, 4, take; inf. M337; pret. indic. 3s. G64;

genoh, adj. enough; n.s. G12.

geogoð, f. youth; n.s. G37; d.s. C61.

geomerian, W II. to groan; pret. indic. 3p. M39.

geond, prep. through; G49,113; C63,336; M88.

geonglic, adj. youthful; d.s. G36.

geopnian, W II. to open; imper. G138; inf. C25; pret. indic. 3s. G238.

georne, adv. eagerly; C337; M93.

geornlice, adv. earnestly; G282.

gerædan, W I. to arrange, dispose; pp. M216.

geortruwian, W II; to dispair; pres. sub. 3s. G165.

gereccan, W I; relate, tell; inf. C361; pp. G227

gereccednyss, f. a narrative; d.s. C9.

gerefa, m. an officer; g.s. M216.

gereord, n. food, meal; a.s. C350; d.s. M130,275.

gereord, n. language; d.s. C134,137.

gereordan, W I. to eat; pret. indic. 3s. G24; C72

gerestan, W I. to rest; pret. indic. 3s. M263; 136

geriht, N. last office of the church; n.p. C175.

gerihtlæccan, W I. to justify; pret. indic. 3s. G171; 3p. C252.

geripian, W II. to ripen; pret. indic. 3s. C219.

Germanus (see note), G125.

geryman, W I. to vacate; pret. indic. 3p. C202.

gesecgan, W III. to say; Pret. indic. 3s. C297.

gesælig, adj. happy; n.s. M117; d.s. C352.

gesæliglice, adv. G6,29; happily.

gesceapu, a.p. privy members; M211.

geseon, 5. to see; pret. indic. 3p. M245. 3s.G70;C61,87; M228,283.

gescrydan, W I. to clothe; pret. indic. 3s. M132; pp. M40,232.

gescyldan, W I. to cover, shield; pret. indic. 3s. G222; G311.

gescyldnyss, f. protection; a.s. C159.

gesecan, W I. to seek; inf. C281; M93.

geseðdan, W I. to declare true; pret. indic. 3s. G262.

gesettan, W I. to establish; pret. indic. 3s. C76,170; 3p.G219.

gesittan, W I. to sit; pp. M135.

gesetnyss, f. insitution; d.s. M126.

gesewen, pp. visible; M321.

gesibbian, W II. to appease; pret. indic. 3s. M60.

gesibsum, adj. peaceful; d.p. C42.

gesihð, f. sight; d.s. G148; a.s. M46,81;

gesittan, 5. to sit; pret. indic. 3s. C131,285,347; M263; pp. G62.

geslean, 6, to fight; pp. G145.

gesmyrian, W II; to anoint; pret. indic. 3s. C327.

gesohte, pret. indic. 3s. of gesecan, W I. to seek; C106; p. C236.

gesprecan, 5. to speak;pret. indic. 3s. C368.

gestillan, W I. to be still; pret. indic. 3s. G197; C28,334.

gestod, pret. indic. 3s. of standan, G110.

gestrynan, W I. to procreate; pret. indic. 3p. M9.

gesund, adj. sound, healthy. n.s. M199; C325,344.

gesundful, adj. healthy; n.s. M202; C338,398.

gesundfullice, adv. safely; G228.

gesungen, pp. of gesingan, 3, to sing; G97.

geswæs, adj. kind; n.s. M27; d.s.f. M294.

geswæslice, adv. kingdly; C343.

geswell, n. a swelling; d.s. C36.

geswencan, W I. to afflict; pp. M104,272,318.

geswetan, W I. to sweeten; pret. indic. 3s. C315

geswican, 1, to cease; pret. indic. 3s. G195; imper. C22.
pres. indic. 3p. G196; M289.

geswinc, n. labor, toil; d.s. G212; g.s. G222; C137,227.

geswutelian, W II. to manifest; pres. indic. 3s. G289.
pret. indic. 3s. G28; M141.

getel, f. number; d.s. G55.

getellan, W I. to tell; pp. G55; C260; pret. indic. 3s. G55.

getengan, to press closely; W I;

getenge, adj. close to; n.p. M270.

geðafian, W II. to permit, allow; inf. G104,106; M164.
pret. indic. 3s. G121; M167.

geðancian, W II. to thank; pret. indic. 3s. C71.

geðensum, adj. serviceable; n.s.m. C77.

geðeon, 2. to thrive; pret. indic. 3s. M10,86; pres. indic.
3s. M85.

geðeodan, W I. to join, connect; inf. G38; pres. indic. 3s.
C23; pret. indic.3s. C74; M96; 3p. G270.

geðincðe, pret. indic. 3s. to honor; G116; C271.

geðincðu, f. honor; d.s. C4.

geðungen, adj. worthy; a.s. G203.

geðyld, f. miracle; d.s. C316; M26.

geðyldig, adj. patient; n.s. M255.

geðyncan, W I. to consider; pp. G31; M198.

getigan, W I. to ie; pret. indic. 3s. C67.

getimbrian, W II. to construct; pret. indic. 3s. G42.

getiðian, W II. to grant; pret. indic. 3s. C223; M260.

getingnyss, f. eloquence; d.s. C162.

getogen, pp. of **geteon**, 2, to draw; G106,292.

getrymman, W I. to fortify; C255.

getydan, W II. to make learned; pp. G29.

geuferian, W II. to elevate; pret. indic 3s. G121.

geunnan, W I. to grant; pres. sub. 3s. G222. pret. indic. 3s.
C161,213,222

geutrumian, W II. to become feeble; pp. M295.

gewæde, n. a garment; d.p. M33; a.p. M273.

gewæht, pp. weakened; M309.

gewæpnian, W II. to arm; pp. M56.

gewendan, W I. to go; pret. indic 3s. G271; C381; M178.

gewidmærsian, W II. to publish abroad; pp. C356.

gewilnian, W II. to desire; pres. indic. 2s. M302.

gewildan, W I. to rule over; pret. indic. 3s. G309.

gewilnian, W II. to desire; pret. indic. 3s. G60,282.

gewilnung, f. desire; d.p. G39.

gewin, n. strife, toil; d.s. M16,50,182; C375.

gewis, adj. certain; n.s. M303.

gewisslice, adv. certainly; G291; M103.

gewissian, W II. to direct; pret. indic. 3s. G274,308.

gewita, m. witness; n.s. G181.

gewitan, 1. to depart; pret. indic. 3s. G311; C359,389;
M148,211,276,244. inf. G194; M296.

gewitnian, W II. to punish; G157.

gewitt, n. sits, senses; d.s. C184.

gewittig, sensible, in senses, adj. n.s. C186; M264.

gewriðan, W I. to bind; inf. C52.

gewrit, n. a letter; d.p. G278,284; M128; a.p. G285; C288.

gewuldrian, W II. to glorify; pp. M323.

gewuna, m. a custom; n.s. C96,119.

gewunelic, adj. accustomed; a.s. C318; d.p. M260 .

gewunian, W II. to be accustomed; pp. C90.

gewurdon, pret. indic. 3p. of geweorðan, 3; to become; M337.

gewyrcan, W I. to work; pret. indic. 3s. G309; C116,322,393.

geyrsian, W II. to make angry. inf. G178.

gif, conj. if; G103,170,221,255; C45,111,147; M42,167,208.

gif, f. gift, grace; d.s. G293; a.s. M250.

giu, adv. formerly, of old; C58,128.

glæs, n. n.s. M322. glass.

god, m. God; n.s. G176,180; C13,57; g.s. G5,9; M3,9; d.s. G38.

godcund, divine; adj. d.s. M237.

god, adj. good; d.p. G22; C391.

godnyss, f. goodness; d.s. M162.

godspell, n. gospel; d.s. M236.

gold, n. gold; d.s. G50.

Gordianus (see note), G18.

grad, m. degree, rank; d.s. M219.

grædlice, adv. greedily; M288.

grama, m. anger; a.s. G142.

grapian, W II. to grasp; pret. indic. 3s. C49.

Grecisc, adj. Greek; G23.

Gregorius, m. Gregory; G3,16,23,62,68; Gregories, G126, 190,227; Gregorium G116,129; Gregorie G277; Gregorii G2.

gripan, 1. to grasp, snatch; pres. indic. 3s. M288.

growan, 7. to grow; part. C216.

grund, m. ground; d.s. C100; M285.

gretan, W I. to greet; pret. indic. 3s. C42.

gyddung, f. composition; d.s. C9.

gylt, m. guilt, crime; d.p. M294; a.s. C115

gyman, W I. to care for; pret. indic 3. C76,309; M30; p. C144, 151,154.

gymm, m. gem; G50; d.p.

gymgra, m. disciple; d.p. M296.

gynian, W II. to yawn; part. M205.

gyrla, m. garment; d.p. G50; C41.

gyt, adv. still, yet; C26; G66,87,92; M45,67,304.

gyte, m. a pouring, flood; d.s. M272.

gyu, adv. formerly; G55.

habban, WIII. to have; inf. M332,334; pres. indic, 3p. G85; M286. pret. indic 3. G128,232; C166,319,330; M20,34.

had, m. rank, class; na. s. G123; M117,119; g.s. C277,280.

hadung, f. ordination; d.s. G133.

hæl, f. salvation; a.s. G266; M222.

hælend, m. lord; n.s. M238,43,59; g.s.M174

hælð, f. health; a.s. C345.

hær, n. hair, haircloth; d.s. M311; d.p. M131.

hæs, f. command; d.s. G191,228; M292; d.p. G43.

hæte, f. heat; d.s. C52.

hæðen, adj. heathen; n.s. G77; M96; g.p. M57.

hæðengyld, n. idol; a.s. M162,184.

hæðengylda, m. idolator; n.s. M84.

hæðenscipe, f. heathenism; d.s. M8,83,87; a.s. G270.

hætt, pret. indic. 3s. of hatan, 7. command; C280.

hafenleas, adj. poor, indigent; n.s. C322.

hal, adj. whole, healthy; n.s. C397; M273.

halga, m. a saint; n.s. G3,195; C3; M161; d.s. C74,157,353; g.p. G55.

halig, adj. holy; a.s. C331; n.s. M134,136; C397.

halsigian, W II. to beseech; ger. C256. pret. indic. 3s. C119; p. C293.

halwende, adj. holy; d.s. M75; d.p. C50,312; M66,154.

ham, m. home; a.s. C381; M343.

hand, f. hand; d.p. C50; M196; a.n.p. M201,51,186.

handbred, m. palm of the hand; d.p. C99.

hatan, 7, command; passive, hatte; M249; pret. indic. 3s. M199.

hat, adj. hot; d.p. M210.

he, pron. 3rd person; m.
he G6,7,20,21,25; C11,21,33,36,37; M5,9,10.
his G7,10,18,19,21; C14,16,24,26; M6,8,11.
him G14,27,64,74,78; C11,15,37,78,89; M21.
hine G38,63,99,119,126; C50,57,72,74,79; M26,37.
hi 74,75,78,82,83; C30,95,100,124,125; M9,39,113.
hire G67,69,258,259; C175.

heafod, m. head; d.s. M194; n.s. M68.
heah, adj. high; a.s. M163
heahfæder, m. patriarch; n.s. M316.

heah gerefa, m. a reeve of high rank; n.s. G124.

heahsetl, f. a lofty seat; g.s. C277.

healdan, 7, guard, defend; inf. M58.

healf, f. a half; a.s. C241.

healic, adj. high, lofty; d.s. C352; M188; d.p. C4; M169,135; n.s. M121; C275.

heall, f. hall, residence; d.s. C275.

heap, m. a multitude; n.s. C29.

heard, adj. hard, much; d.p. C36,329; M195; n.s. M57;

heardnyss, f. hardness; a.s. C206; G140.

hefeg, adj. heavy; d.p. M57.

hefitgym, adj. tedious; d.p. C328.

hel, f. hell; d.s. M288.

helm, m. crown, helmet; d.s. C358; M57,239.

heo, pron, 3rd person; f. G15,174; C48,169,176; M218.

heofen, m. heaven; d.s. C278,353; M188. g.s. C5,C24.

heofenlic, adj. heavenly; d.p. C99,374; g.s. C194.

heofung, f. lamentation; n.s. M326; a.s. M297; d.p. G146.

heold, m. nation; G242.

heold, pret. indic. 3s. of healdan, 7. to possess; M70,120.

heolstor, n. recess, veil; d.p. C278.

heonon, adv. whence; C112.

heora, 3rd person pron. g. p. m.f.n; G150,152,260,261;
C31,100,101,137,140; M16,68,69.

heorte, f. the heart; d.s. G79; g.s. G140; a.s. G159; C271.

here, m. an army; a.s. M56,59.

Hereberhtus (proper name), C367,372,381.

herigendlice, adv. praiseworthily; G26.

herung, f. praise; d.p. C8.

het, pret. indic. 3s. of hatan, 7, to command; G129; C50,
206,211; M42,57,207.

hetelice, adv. violently; M172.

Hilarius (see note), M62,92,94.

hirdræde, f. herd; a.s. C360.

hird, m. a household, d.s. M203.

Historia Anglorum (Latin) the history of the Enlgish (see note)
G10.

hit, 3rd person pron. n.
G66,96,103,219; C16,32,147; M147.

hiw, n. shape; n.s. M230; d.s. C79; M143,214; g.s. G80.

hiwisc, n. household; n.s. C344.

hiwian, W II. topretend, fashion; pret. indic. 3s. M113.

hlaf, m. bread; n.s. C331; a.p. C82.

hlaford, m. a lord, master; n.s. M203.

hleowðe, f. shelter; a.s. C230.

hlisful, adj. famous; n.s. C193.

hlod, pret. indic. 3s. to absorb; G34.

hlogon, pret. indic 2p. of hlehhan, 6, to laugh; M38.

hlosnian, W II. to await; pret. indic 3s. C93.

hlude, adv. loudly, M326.

hnol, m. top of head; d.s. M246.

hogian, WIII. to think; pres. indic 3s. C147. pret. indic. 3s. G27.

hohful, adj. pensive; n.s. C367,372.

hold, adj. devoted; g.p. G326.

holdræden, discharge of duty, f. a.s. C357.

holian, W II. to be hallowed; C207; inf.

holt, m. wood; d.s. M291.

hors, n. a horse; a.s. C53,67,69; d.s. C40.

hospræc, f. contumely; n.s. M258.

hrædlice, adv. soon, hastily; G170,241; C75,350; M148.

hream, m. a cry.d.s. M31.

hreas, pret. indic. 3s. of hreosan, 2, to fall.

hremm, m. raven. s. C129; a.p. C219,225,228.

hreoflin, adj. leprous. a.s. M213.

hreosan, 2, to fall; part. M173.

hreppan, W II. to touch. inf. M273.

hrepung, f. touch; d.s. M216,253.

hrof, m. roof; d.s. M190,180.

hrose, f. rose; g.s. C83.

hryman, W I. to cry out. pret. indic 3s. M33.

hu, adv. conj. how; G62,82,87,93; C188,192,257; M14,236,275;

hund, m. dog. a.p. M269.

hund eahtatig, eighty; G193; M125,324.

hunig, n. honey; a.s. C84.

huru, adv. at any rate; G137; M335.

hus, n. house; n.s. G113,151; C145,156; d.s. M99,179,183;

hwa, pron. who, which; C264,360; M301.

hwæne, pron. whom; M14.

hwær, conj. where; C124.

hwæs, pron. whose; M138.

hwæt, interj. pron. G129,156,198,199,220; C25,54,126,144, 161; M17,61,70.

hwæte, m. wheat; a.s. C214.

hwæten, adj. wheaten; a.s. C50.

hwæt ða, adv. thereupon; G95.

hwæðer, adv. whatsoever; G77

hwam, prom. to whom; M299.

hwi, adv. why; C18,349; M298,314;

whider, adv, conj. whither; M77,79.

hwilc, adj. which. n.s. G148; M325; d.s.f. G73; g.s. M259.

hwil, f. a space of time; d.s. G154,194.

hwilon (d.s. of hwil) adv. sometimes; C64,209; M231,245,262.

hwit, adj. white; g.s. G71; comp. whittre , M322.

hwon, adv. somewhat; G201.

hwyder, adv. whither; C86.

hyld, m. favor, grace; d.s. C360.

hynan, W I. to abuse, destroy; inf. M165,196.

hyrde, m. shepherd; g.s. C66.

hyrdemann, m. shepherd; d.p. C60; n.s. C60.

ic, pers. pronoun 1 person. G223,222,163,164; C45,110,279; M55,80.

Id.(Idus), G1; M1.

idel, adj. empty, vain; d.p. G295.

igland, n. and island; n.s. C197,202,204; g.s. C286; d.s. C291.

Incliti (Latin)g.s. great; G2.

incund, adj. inward; d.s. G293.

infær, n. opening; a.x. G139,238; C25.

ingehyd, f.or n. strictness; n.s. M121.

inn, adv, and prep. in, into; C81.

innweardre, adv, inward. G79.

into, adv, prep. into; C63; M250,316.

Iohannes (see note), G208.

is (se beon), G6,23,24,92,160; C47,269,274; M4,5,6.

isen, n. iron; d.s. M195,210.

Italia, Italy. M6.

iu, adv. already; M323.

iuguð, f. youth; M129.

Iuliane (see note) M22,48.

Iustus (see note) G208.

Kl. (Kalendi) the Calends (Latin) Cl.

La, inter. lo; C22,126,264.

lac, n. gift; a.s. G298; C237,255; d.p. G285.

læce whyrht, f. a medicine; n.s. C47.

læcedom, m. medicine; a.s. M267.

læne, adj. transitory; d.s. M151,279.

læran, W I. teach; inf. M74. pret. indic. 3s. C313.

læswian, W II. to feed; pret. indic. 3s. C358.

laetania (Latin) litany; a.p. G186.

læwede, adj. n.s. G190; d.s. C320.

land, n. land; n.a.s.C64,236,336; g.s. G77; d.s. C161,215,234.

lang, adj. long; n.s. C118;adv. 257,386; M112,65.

langlice, adv. a long while; M197.

langsum, adj. tedious; g.s. G212; d.s. G79;

lar, f. doctrine; d.s. C55; a.s. C143; d.s. M64,65,73.

lareow, m. a teacher; n.s. C7,26,347; g.s. M75.
g.p. G32

laðian, W II; to loath; pret. indic. 3s. M132.

lað, adj. hateful; d.s. M19.

Laurentius (see note) G208.

leasa, m. false one; d.s. M237.

leasung, f. a leasing; d.s. M231; a.s. C140. (see note)

Ledene, Latin; G11,23.

leger bedd, n. sick bed; d.s. C381; M197.

leger, n. a sickness; d.s. M308.

leod, m. a people; d.s. G93,109,235; C268; M48,133;
d.p. C160; g.p. M328.

leod biscop, bishop of a district, m. n.s. C309; M112;
d.s. C394.

leof, m. friend; n.s. C22,264,269. (used as a form of address to one or many, as 'dear sir').

leof, adj. dear; d.s. M280; comp. C274.

leoht, n. light; a.s. M235,323.

leohtleas, adj. lightless; d.s. M104.

leom, n. a.p. C102.

leoðlic, adj. poetic; a.s.f. C9.

let, pret. indic. 3s. of lætan, 7, let, permit; M161.

letanium , litany. G192,195.

lic, body. n. n.a.s. G152; C391,397; M157,321.
d.s. M131; g.s.M214

licgan, 5, to lie, recline; part. C103,327,381; M310
pret. indic. 3p. C82; 3s. C174,330; M197.

lichama, m. body; a.s. G71; C396; M318.

lif, n. life; n.a.s. G248,260; C252,7; g.s. G27,39,169,258;
C120,150,262; d.s. G194,308; C113, 176,283; M106,128.

lifian, W II. to life. part. M75,346;

lifleas, adj. lifeless; a.s. M109.

liflic, adj. living; n.s. C355.

lig, m. flame; d.s. M179,181,247.

lilie, f. lily; d.s. C82.

lim, n. limb; n.s. C52; d.p. C399; M198.

Lindisfarnensiscre, C308,392.

lið, adj. kind; a.s. C53,399.

liðeg, adj. flexible; a.p. M208.

loc, n. locks of hair; n.p. M247.

lof, n.m. priase, glory; n.a.s. C135,193,400; d.s. G97. g.s. C194;

losian, W II. to perish. inf. M86.

lufian, W II, to love; inf.G37; pret. indic. 3s. G56,264; M102,120,202

luftyme, adj. grateful; a.s. G200.

lust, m. pleasure; n.a.s. C260; a.p. C272;

lustbære, adj. producing pleasure; d.s. C236.

lybb, n. medicine, d.s. G164.

lybban, W III. to live; part. G253; C386,402; M24,76.

lym, n. lymb. d.p. C382; M295.

lyt, indecl., adj, adv, subst. little; C144,154.

lytel, adj. little; d.s. M102.

lythwon, adv. a little time; C151.

mæden, n. maiden; n.a.s. C270,327,346; M154,196; d.s. C267,306; d.p. M226.

mæg, m. kinsman; d.s. G147,225; C333.

mægen, n. virtue, strength; d.s. G117; d.p. G63.

mægðe, f. a maiden; d.s. G17.

mære, adj. great, exalted; g.s. C298; d.s. M193; n.s. M86,292.

mærlice, adv. eminently; M10,344.

mærsian, W II. to glorify; pres. indic. 2s, G180.

mæsse, f. mass; d.s. M245.

mæsse reaf, n. mass robes; d.p. G298.

mæssepreost, m. priest; d.s. M137.

mæðleas, adj. speechless; g.s. M289.

maga, m. relative; d.p. M4,82.

magan, pret. pres. bel able; pret. indic. 3s. G194; C127,360; pres. indic. 3p. M84.

man, n. man; n.a.s. G74,78,88,131,106; C166,277; g.s. C22;

manian, W II. to exhort. pres. indic 3s. G159,182. pre. indic. 3s. G287.

mandæd, f. an evil deed, crime; d.p. M145.

maneg, adj. many; a.p. C250; n.p. M83; M214; d.p. M103; g.p.G27.

manfullice, adv. wickedly; G157.

manfull, adj. evil, wicked; d.p. M82.

mannewealm, m. pestilence, n.s. G109.

mare, comp. of micel, more; G216,217.

Maria, Mary, M224.

Martinus, M3,17,29; Martinum,M9 Martine,M40 Martini, M2.

martyr, m a martyr; g.s. M137; g.p. G299.

Mauricium (see note), G119,128.

me, acc. personal pron. 1st person. G180,222; C46, 242,280.

meder, f. n.s. mother; C342.

med, f. reward; g.s. C237; g.s. M303. d.s. G169.

Mellitus (see note), G208.

men, see man, C163,200; M109.

menigfeald, adj. manyfold; d.p. G4,284.

menigu, f. multitude; n.s. G188; M338.

mennisc, n. people; n.s. G76; M142,188; d.p. C371.

meolc, f. milk; n.s. C51; M322

merien, m. morning. n.s. M60.; merigen, G185.

merigenlic, adj. of the morning; d.s.f. C105.

mete, m. meat; a.s. C187; M90; d.p. G56

metoda, creator, m. n.s. M236.

mettrum, adj. infirm; d.s. M215.

micel, adj. much; d.s. C183; M122,297; G307; n.s. G109,112, 188. g.s. C276.

mieclum, adv. greatly; G120,177,204,217,263; C63,106,143.

micelnys, f, greatness; d.s. G166.

mid, prep. with. G21,22,34,35,39; C5,8,12,16,20,26; M26,31,35.

middan, prep. middl. C198,207.

middaneard, m. earth; n.s. G237.
middaneardlic, adj. earthly; a.s.f. G251.
middaneardlice, adv, earthly; G215.

miht, f. strenth; d.a.s. G54,104,201,241; C46,47,172; M14,34; n.s. G290;

mihtelice, adv. powerfully; C59.

mihtig, adj. mighty; a.s. C361; g.s. C384.

mihton, pret. indic. of **magon**, 3p., pret. pres. to be able; G250; C289; M40.

mil, f. mile. g.p. M122.

mildheort, adj. kind; n.s. G175,235.

mildheortnyss, f. mercy; a.s. G92,176; M268.

miltsian, W II. to be merciful; inf. G181; pret. indic. 3s. C110.

miltsung, f. pity; n.s. G197; a.s. C153.

min, poss. adj. my, mine; n.s. G287; C46,112; M80; a.s.f. G135,183; d.p. C283

minegung, f admonition; a.s. C143.

mislice, adv.diversely; C271.

mislic, adj. diverse; d.p. M27,229,266;

mod, n. mind, heart; a.s. C141.

modor, f. mother; n.p. G151. n.s. C340; M82.

modig, adj. insolent; n.s. M24.

molde, f. earth, dust;   a.s. C200.

monð, m. month. a.p. G310.

motan, pret. pret. be able, must;   pret. indic. 3s. G243; C187,214,216; p. C380. pres. indic. 3s. G222, C281.

munuc lif, n. monastic life; d.s. C74,171; M122; n.s. G41;

munuc, m. monk; n.a.s. C75,93,106; M24,334; d.p. G210, 247.

munuchad, monkhood, m. g.s. G189.

munuclic, monkish, adj. d.s. G64;

munt, m. mountain; d.p. M67.

muð, m. mouth; n.a.s. G234; C297,333; d.s. M205,206,238.

mynecenu, f. female recluses; n.p. M327.

mynegung, f. admonition; a.s. G220,C14,33,384; d.p. C255,312.

mynsterlic, adj. of a monastery; d.p. C77.

mynster, n. monastery; a.s. C105; M95, 123; d.s. C191, 290; M112.

myrð, f. joy; a.s. C63; C380.

mysan, .d.s. table; C347.

na, adv. no, not; G200; C88; M24,54,56.

nacod, adj. naked; a.s.M32; d.s. M35.

nædder, f. adder; a.s. M251.

nabban, contraction of ne habban, W III, have not; pret. indic. 3s. M31; p. M127.

næfre, adv. never; G120.

nænig, pron. no one; a.s. C81; G265.

næs, combination of ne wæs, was not; G30,32; C216; M29,99,127;

nære, combination of ne wære, were not; C276.

naht, combination of na wiht, nothing; M39,127.

nama, m. name;,n.s. G23,82,87; C355; a.p. M138.

nan, adj.,pron. no, none, no one; G165; C47,277; M30,32.

nateshwon, adv. not at all; M. 229.

nawar, adv. nowhere; M113.

ne, conj. nor; G104,114,120,195,196; C21,30,47,81,87; M30,34,36.

nedbric, need; d.p. C239.

nele, contraction of ne wille, will not; G177.

neod, f. need, necessity; d.s. M156.

nest, nest; d.s. C229.

next, adj. last; d.s. G259; C370.

nig hworfen, adj. newly converted; d.p. G279.

niht, f. night; n.s. C91; d.s. M221.

ninlueiscre (see note), G166.

nis, contraction of ne is, is not; G15.

noldan, contraction of ne woldan, would not; pret. indic. 3s. M50,59,112; G264; C317; p. G106.

Novemb. (Latin) gen. Novembris, of November. M1.

nu, adj, conj. now; G13,137,141; C45,369,351; M299.

nydbehef, adj. needful; n.s. M306.

nydbearfnyss, f. need; d.s. C370.

nylle, contraction of ne wylle, will not; G163.

nyste, pret. indic 3s. could not. M138.

nyten, n. animal; n.s. M314; d.p. M266

nytenlice, adv. thoughtless, animal-like; C12.

nytennyss, f. thoughtlessness; a.s. C13.

obitu (Latin,) abl. sing. death. M277.

of, prep, from; G11,16,63,73,75; C69,70,100,113; M3,222.

of adwelian, to stray; W II. pret. indic. 3p. M 267.

of alædan, W I. to lead away; pret. indic. 3s. G88.

of niman, 4, to take from; imperative;.C133

ofaxian, W II. to ask; pret. indic 3s. G266

ofcomon, from ofcuman, 4, to come; pret. indic.3p. G82.

ofcyrf, m. a cutting; d.s. M37.

ofdræd, pp. afraid;.M71.

ofer, prep, over; G109; M100; C217,225,262.

ofer eaca, m. a surplus; a.s. G46.

ofer feran,W I. to travel; pret. indic. 3s. C67.

over stah, pret. indic. 3s. overcome; G21.

offeallan, W 7. destroy, fall; M175, pret. indic. 3s.

offrigan, W II. to offer; pres. indic. 1s. C354.

ofgan, demand satisfaction for; G177.

ofsceamian, W II; to be ashamed; pret. indic. 3s. M343;
pp.C151.

ofseon, 5. to see; pret. indic. 3s. M156.

ofsettan, W I. to press hard; pret. indic. 3s. G59.

ofslean, 6. strike down,kill; pp. G142; C300; M144.

oft, adv. often G66; C158; M89,222.

olæcan, W I. to flatter; inf. M257.

olfend, m. a camel; g.s. M131.

on, prep, adv. on, in; G23,23,25; C3,5,21,38; M4,5,6.

onbryrdan, W I. to incite; pp. C348.

onbryrdnyss, f. impulse; d.s. M96.

oncnawan, 7 to recognize; pres. subj. 3s. M43.

ondrædan, 7, to fear; inf. G137,138,290; pret, indic. 3s. M80; pp G293.

onettan, W I. to hasten. pret. indic. 3s. C383.

onfon, 7. to take, receive; pret. indic. 3s. C185.

ongann, pret. indic. 3s. of onginnan, 3, to begin; G38, 247; C122,142; M74,272,314.

ongean, adv. back, again, G283; C151; M173;

ongeat, pret. indic. 3s. of ongietan, 5, to understand; C57,87.

onginnan, 3, to begin; pret. indic. 3p. M50; G268; pp. G214.

onlihtan, W I; to relieve; pret. indic. 3s. C59.

onsigan, 1, to approach; pp. G134,172; C261.

onsundran, adv. asunder; C368; M70.

ontendan, W I. to set fire to; pret. indic. 3s. M178.

on uppon, adv. on;M201.

open, adj. open; a.p. C61.

openlice, adv. openly; C173.

orf, n. cattle; n.s. C358.

ormæte, adj. boundless; a.s.f. M25; d.s. M171. d.p.M241.

orsorh, adj. free from care; n.s. M55; C203.

orsorhlice, adv. fearlessly; M313.

orðian, breathe, pant; W II. inf. G40.

orwene, adj. hopeless; given up; n.s. C330.

oð, prep, conj. to; G197,228,231,305; C26,95,97,112.

oðer, adj. other; a.s. M37; n.s. 342; g.s. C382; d.s. G210; C155,286,292.

oððe, conj. or; G213; C279; M56,57,70.

pællen, adj. purple, rich; d.p. G49.

pallium, n. a pall (Latin); G300.

Pannonia (see note), M4.

papa, m. pope; n.s. G99; g.s. G103,110,111,115.

papan had, m. papal dignity; n.s. G198.

Paule, Paul; M225.

Palagium, G110.

Peohtum, the Picts. C301.

Petrus; G132,208. M225.

Pictauienscisce, of Poitiers; M331,337.

pinbeam, pine tree m. M163.

pistol, m. a letter; a.s. G118,125.

plega, m. play; d.s. C16,23,26,28.

plegian, W II. tp play; part. C12.

prafost, m. an officer; d.s. C170.

preost, m. a priest; a.p. M282,293.

preosthad, m. priesthood; g.s. G189.

purpure, f. a purple garment; d.s. M232,239.

racenteag, f. chains; d.p. M19.

racu, f. narrative; n.s. C118.

ræd, m. advice; a.s. G7.

ræs, m. rushing; d.s. M270.

read, adj. red; d.p. M56.

reaf, n. booty; dress; g.s. M215.

regollice, adv. according to rule; G43; M126.

reliquias, a. p. Latin. relics. G299.

reow, pret. indic. 3s. of rowan, W I. to row; C290.

reðe, adj. cruel, savage; d.s. G197; M196,254.

rica, m. powerful man; d.s. M257.

rice, n. kingdom; n.a.s. G5,230,233; C5,265; M85; g.s. G238,246,312; C25,258;M6. d.p. M149.

ricene, adv. instantly; C225.

ricilce, adv. powerfully; G230.

ridda, m. horseman; n.s. C39.

riddan, 1, to ride; inf. M31; part. C39

rihtlice, rightly, adv. G6,84.

rixian, W II. to rule; pres. indic. 3s. M348. pret. indic. 3s. G229; C303; part. C6.

rodetacen, n. sign of the cross; d.s. M56,174.

rodor, m. heaven; d.s. C99.

roderlic, adj. heavenly; d.s. C20.

rohte, pret. indic. 3s. cared for; C89.

Romanaburh, n. City of Rome; G42,49,114.

Romane, Roman; G2.

Romaniscan, Roman; G105,109,201; Romanisce, G17,133.

Rome, G276.. fat. n.s. C237.

rysl, m. fat; C237.

Sabaria (see note) M5.

sacerd, m. priest; n.s. C365; a.s. C387,390.

sæ f, the sea; d.s. C91,95,198.

sæd, n. seed; C212.

sæde, pret. indic. 3s. of secgan, WIII, to say; G78,89, M78,103,143.

sæl, f. time; d.s. M218,248; G66,74; C78.

sælic, adj. of the sea; d.s. C97; d.s. C100,247.

sæmtinges, adv. immediately M177.

sah, pret. indic. 3s.of sigan, sink; M172.

sancucu, adj. half dead; a.s. C340; n.s. M198.

samod, adv. together. G224,299; C235,295,390; M8.

sanct, m. a saint; N.s. M341.

Sancti, g. s. Latin. saint; M2.
sand, f. mission; d.s. G8; C71.

sang, pret. indic. 3s. of singan,3, to sing; C68,96.

sang, m. song; d.s. C353; M341,343.

sar, n. pain, suffering; C328; d.s.

sarlice, adv. sorely; M114.

sarnys, f. pain. n.s. G139.

sawlian, W II. to expire; pret. indic. 3s. M312.

sawel, f. the soul; n.s. C112,318; d.p. G220; a.s. C62

sceadu, f. shadow; n.s. M143.

scealfran (see note), M290,284.

sceamu, f. shame; a.s. C173.

scêan, pret. indic. 3s. of scinan, 1, to shine; 243,322.

sceanca, m. a shank, leg; d.p. M160.

sceandlic, adj. shameful; d.p. M212.

scearp, adj. sharp; d.p. M208.

sceaþa, m. criminal; n.s. G168; n.p. M68. d.p. M70,73.

sceawere, m. an observer; g.s. C114.

sceawian, W II. to look; inf. M42. part,. G69. pret. indic. 3s. C84.

sceocca, m. devil; n.s. M81; d.s. M235.

sceortnyss, f. shortness a.s. C117.

Sci. (Latin) Sancti, g.s. of the holy. C2; G2.

scinan, 1. to shine; inf. M246; part. M64, 191,239,247.

scip, n. ship; d.s. M.340.

scir, f. office; a.s. G87.

scirmann, m. official; n.p. G89.

scon, a.p. shoes; C237.

scort, adj. short; d.s. M274.

scortlic, adv. briefly; G13.

scræf, n. a cave; d.p. C275.

scrydan, W I. to put clothes on; inf. M40.

sculan, pret. pres. must, have as a duty; pret. indic. 3s. C123,183,344; M93,165,296; p. G137,302; C125. pret. indic. 2s. C24.

scyld, m. shield; d.s. M56.

scyldig, adj. guilty; d.s. G238.

scyppend, m. creator; g.s. G98; M261; d.s. M177; N.s. C267.

se, article, mas. sing. nom.
G3,19,23,61,62; C3,6,10,13,29; M3,43,48.

sellan, W I; to give; pret. indic. 3s. M36; subj. 3s. M101.

sealt, n. salt; g.s. C92,226; d.p. C198,249.

secgan, W III. to say; inf. C193,297; M275; imperat. C264; ger. M73,183.

sendan, WI. to send; pret. indic. 3s. G283; p. C288.

seo, fem. art. sing. nom.
G12,14,114,143,246; C253,305,349; M129,224,241.

seoc, adj. sick; n.s. M.198; a.s. M114.

seocnyss, f. sickness; a.s. C114.

seofon, seven; G44.

seofoða, seventh; d.s. G42.

seofonfealde; a.p. seven fold; G186; d.p. G191.

seol, m. a seal; n. p. C100.

seow, pret. indic. 3s. of sowan, W I. to sow; C214.

setl, m.n. seat; n.s. M265; g.s. G99,309; d.s. G301,311.

settan, W I. to set; pret. indic. 3s. M181,200.

sex, n. knife; d.s. M36.

sibb, f. peace; d.s. M294.

sibbian, W II. to reconcile M282.

siccetung, f. sigh; a.s. G79.

Sicilia lande, Sicily; G41.

sind (see beon) g84,330; M302; G90,91,142,150.

sindon (see beon) G81.

singallice, adv. constantly; G58.

singal; adj. d.s. C311.

singan, 3, to sing; pret. indic. 3s. G186.

sið, m. journey; d.s. C121; M93.

siðfæt, m. journey, road; d.s. C54.

siðian, W II. to journey; inf. C374,380; M290.
pret. indic. 3s. M82; part. C86.

siðlic, adj. journying; d.s. C228.

siððan, adv. after; G127,198,311; C33,75,102; M6,7,22.

sittan, 5. to sit; pret. indic. 3s. M129; pres. sub.
3s. C275; part. C40

six, six; G41,310.

slǣpan, 7. to sleep; part. C398.

slǣp, m. sleep; d.s. M337.

sleac, adj. slow; d.s. C94.

slean, 6. to strike down; inf. M194.

slege, m. a blow; a.s. G155; M195,252.

sliht, m. a striking d.s. G143.

sloh, pret. indic. 3s. of slean, 6, to strike down; M 68.

smeadian, W II. to consider; pret. indic. 3s. C124,248.

smeagan, W III. to devise; inf. C192; pres. indic. 3s. C291. part. M13.

smedema, m. fine flour; a.s. C51.

smyrels, m. ointment; d.s. M154.

snaw, m. snow; d.s. C85,87.

snaw hwit, adj. snow white; d.s. C40.

snotor, adj. wise; n.s. C6 (comp)

socn, f. seeking, a looking for; acc. s. M146.

softnys, f. softness; n.s. M132.

sona, adv. immediately; G98; C56,110,177; M43,60,74.

sorhfull, adj. sorrowful; d.s. C342.

sorhlice, adv. sorrowfully; C273.

soð, n. truth; a.s. M258.

soð, adj. true; g.s. C160; d.s. M25,111.

soðfæst, adj. true, righteous; n.s. M276.

soðfæstnyss, f. truth; a.c. G254.

soðlice, adv. truly; G173,261; C10,17,145; M300,316.

span, pret. indic. 3s. of spinnan, 3. to spin. M107.

spræc, f. speech; a.s. C256,259,283;

sprecan, 5. to speak; pret. indic. 3s. C270,305; p. M223; pres. indic. 3.s. M254. part.

stæððignyss, f. seriousness; a.s.C34.

stæððig, adj. serious. d.p. C16.

stælcung, f. pace; d.s. C94.

stal, f. theft; a.s. M143.

standan, 6. to stand; inf. C91; M313; part. C97; pres. indic. 3s. G151. pret. indic.3s. C66; M180. p. G113.

stearc, adj. rigid; a.s. C319.

stemn, voice, m. d.s. M116.

stenc, m. a smell; d.s. M242.

steppan, 6. to step; part. M158.

sticel, adj. steep; d.s. M180.

stincan, 3. to smell; pret. indic. 3s. M241.

stið, adj. hard; a.c.f. C251; d.s. M311.

stiðlicor, adj. comp. severe; G59.

stiðnyss, f. severity; n.p. C319.

stow, f. place. n.s. M134; a.s. M104,140.

stræt, f. road; n.s. G68.

strang, adj. strong; d.s. M159.

strec, adj. strict; n.s. G186; d.s. G148.

styman, W I. to exhale an odor; part. C83.

styran, W I. to direct. inf. C13.

sum, adj. pron, a certain, someone; n.s. G100; g.s. C65; a.x. C135,195,268.

sund, n. water, sea; n.s. C104.

sundor, adv. apart; C38.

sungon, pret. indic. 3p. of singan, 3 to sing; G195.

sunn beam, m. a sun beam; d.s. C38.

sunu, m. a son; n. C343; M148.

suð, south; G232.

swa, adv, conj. G29,53,54,58,59; C22,36,51,96; M21,24,32.

swæcc, m. flavor; d.s. C84,209,210.

swærlice, adv. heavily; M104.

swæslice, courteously; C42. adv.

swaðeah, adv, conj. yet; C136,146,155; M34.

sweltan, 3. to die; pret. indic. 3s. M97; inf. G255.

sweart, adj. dark, black; n.s. C129; g.p. C261; d.s. G81.
d.p. M104,143.

swefn, sleepn d.s. M40.

swegan, W I. to sound. pret. indic. 3s. M326.
part. M181; pres. indic. 3s. G23

sweostor, f. sister; n.s. C254.

swetnyss, f. sweetness; d.s. G258.

swete, adj. sweet; comp. C84; G35.

swicol, adj. deceptive; n.s. C144.

swige, f. silence; d.s. C112.

swilc, pron. such; a.s.m. M117; d.s. C70,145,166; M147,
134,135. d.p. G86.

swincan, 3, toil, labor; inf. G225,226; pres. indic. 3s.
G218; part. M27.

swinc, n. labor, trouble; gls. C237.

swingel, f. a stroke; d.s. G136.

swiðe, adv. very; strongly; G25,192; C144,189,206; M21,27,39.

swiðelice, rigidly; adv. C251,369.

swiðlic, adj. excessive; d.s. M340.

swiðor, adv. more, rather; M323; 303.

swiðost, adv. most strongly; M327.

swura, m. neck. a.s. M191.

swurd, n. sword; d.s. G141,173.

swutelice, adv. sweetly; G12.

swymman, W I. to swin; inf. M283.

sy (see **beon**) G15,96,135; C134,400; M45,347.

syle, imperative of **sellan** W I, to give; C136.

sylene, a.s.m. a gift; M43,49.

sylf, pron. self; n.s. C33,40,45; G26,43,52; a.s. C19,72; d.s. G187,253,270;152.

sylfinge, f. (see note) C71.

sylfwill, adj. voluntary; g.s. G207.

sylle log, m. a support; n.s. C240,247.

symle, adv. ever. G300; C34,234,315; M13,25,129.

synderlic, adj. separate; g.s. M127.

syndrig, adj. separate; d.p. G57.

synfull, adj. sinfull; a.p. G163.

synn, f. crime, sin; g.p. G165.

syrwe, f. wile; d.p. C139.

syððan, adv. after; C98.

tacen, n. sign, token; d.p. G262,294; g.p.C316.

tæcan, W I. to teach; pret. indic. 3p. G253; s.C121.

tear, m. tear; d.p. G185; C27,294,373.

Tecla, M226.

tempeln, temple. n.s. M178; g.s. M187.

teon, 2. draw, pull; pret. indic.3s. G79

teran, 4. to tear; pret. indic. 3p. C228.

Tetradius, M199.

ða, adv. then; G11,34,38,44,55;
there; C25; M12,14,18;
as; C25,37,39,44,49; M11,17,20.
while; G26,36,188.
when C11,60,81,86,125

ðæc, n. roof; a.s. C69.

ðær, adv. in t at place; C67,68,69,145; M105,137;

ðæra, pron. 3pl. g. G73,205,206,248; C28,222,231; M15,40.

þæron - there in; C285; M281.

ðærrihte, adv. forthwith; G200; C132,263,332; M174.

þæslice, adv. in such a way; G36.

þæt, conj. that; neuto, nom, acc. sing of **se**.
G24,30,42,54,68; C10,16,21,26; M6,15,35.

ðancian, W II. to thank; pret. indic. 3s. G129,200.

þe, conj. because; G48.

þe, adv. therefore

þe, rel. pron. G11,61; C20,23.

ðeah, though, conj. G15,30,104; C48; M29,31,44.

ðearfa, adj. destitue; d.s. M30,32,40; d.p. C321; M34.

ðearle, adv. severely; C232; M33,200,285.

ðeaw, m. observance, custom; d.s. G22; C74; M76.

ðegen, m. servant; a.s. M59,200.

þenian, W II. to supply; inf. G245. pret. indic. 3s.
C326; M21.

þenung, f. refection; a.s. C45,80; d.p.M20.

þeod, f. f. people, nation; a.s. C7; g.p. G3,7,75.

þeodorus (see note) C285.

þeon., to continue; imper. G63,305.

þeow cnapa, m. servant boy; g.p. M200.

þeow, m. servant; g.p. M202; a.p. M120.

þeowdom, service; a.s. G267.

þeowian, W II. to serve; M52; part. G249.

þeowraca, f. threat; a.p. C201.

þider; thither; adv. C54,190,339; M168,283;

þin, pron. poss. your; G293; M307.

þine, pron. poss. your; C45; M303.

þincan, W. I. to seem. pres. indic. 3s. C118.

þing, n. thing; n.a.s. G13,69,205,251,252; M32,34,126.
d.p. G218; g.p. G278,286.

þingigian, W II. to intercede; imper. M346.

þingræden, f. intercession; d.s. M110.

þinre, 2nd pers. poss. M301; G179; **þine** M298; **þinum**,
C110,352.

þis, pronoun; G141; C281; **þises**; C221,223,286;
þisere C377; M44; **þissum** M344; **þisne** C127,135.

þolian, W II. to suffer, endure; ger. G255.

þonon, thence, because; G245,276.

þonne, conj. than; G122,187; M321,322,323;

þonne, conj. when; M240.

þreagan, W III, to rebuke; pret. indic. 3s. C17; M294.

þreora, g.p. three; G167.

þreottyne, thirteen; G310.

þreow, pret. indic. 3s. turn; M182.

þriddan, thirdly, adv. C 279;388.

þrotu, f. the throat; d.s. G35.

þrowian, W II. to endure, suffer; pret. indic. 3s. G58. pres. indic. 3s.

þrowung, f. passion; a.s. G236; M139.

þry, three; C82,232.

þrymm, m. host, heavenly host; d.s. C375; M240.

þry wintre, adj. three-year-old; n.s. C15,17.

þu, pers. pron. 2nd person. G290,296; M298,299;

þurh, prep. through; G7.122,163,212; C14,57,58,116; M66,91,110.

þurhgan, anom. v. to go through; inf. M55.

þurfan, pret. pres. to need; pres. indic. 3p. G250.

þurhwunodon, pret. indic. 3p. of þurhwunian, W II. to prosper; G305.

þurstig, adj. thristy; d.p. G34.

þus, adv. thus; G207; M315.

þwyres, adv. backward; M182.

þwyrnyss, f. crookedness; d.p. G171.

þwyr, adj. crooked, cross; d.p. M255.

þygde, pret. indic. 3s. to receive; M90.

þy læs, lest; C117,140,193.

þyllic, adj. of the like; g.s. M39.

tid, f. time; d.s.G193; C105,326; M225.

tihtan, W I. to urge; pret. indic. 3s. G135,211; C12. C312.

tihting, f. preaching; d.p. G204.

tilian, W II. to cultivate; inf. C212.

tima, m, time; d.s. C155,335; M87,138,281. G61.

timbrian, W II. to build; inf. C239.

tibian, to give; W II. pret. indic. 3s. C43.

to, prep. to; G8,38,45,48,57; C15,18,23,39; M11,16,18.

toeacan, prep. besides; M83.

tobrecan, 4. to break in pieces; pres. indic. 3s. G140.

tocnawan, W I. to know; inf. M85.

tocearfan, 3 to cut to pieces; pret. indic. 3s. M36.

tocwysan, W I. to shatter; inf. M185; pp. M220

tocyme, m. a coming; n.s. M237; g.s. M320.

togeanes, prep. opposite; C126,184; M205.

tolysan, W I. to loosen; pret. indic. 3s. M75.

toslupan, 2. to dissolve, fall apart. pp. M198.

tosomne, adv. together; C226.

toswellan, W I. to swell; pp. M252.

toteran, 4. to tear; pret. indic. 3s. G126.

tob, m. tooth, d.p. M208.

tobindan, 2. to swell; pp. C52.

toward, adj. future; d.s. M54,323; a.s. G137; M244.

toweorpan, 3; cast away; pret. indic. 3s. M162,184.
p. M186,188.

towendan, W I. to overthrow; pret. indic. 3s. M146.

traht boc, f. treatise; a.p. G306.

treow, n. tree; n.a.s. C243; M165,171; g.s. C245; d.s. M173.

treowen, adj. woody; d.p. C358.

trum, adj, firm, strong; a.s. M167.

truwa, m. faith; d.s. G162.

truwian, W II. to trust. M167; pret. indic 3s.

tungel, m.n. star; n.s. M64.

Turonisce, of Tours; M123,330,339.

twa, two; M122.

twegen, two; C100,227; M105.

twylic, ambiguous. d.s. C259.

tyn, ten; G310; M10.

tyrnan, W I. to turn; pret. indic. 3p. M159.

Uigilantius (see note), G24.

unc, dual, pron. G127,134,135.

under, prep. under; G43; C38; M168,191.

underbæc, adv. back; M175,192.

underfon, 7, to receive; pp. M98; pres. indic. 3s. M316.
pret. indic 3s. G198,277; C80,296; M94,166.

undergietan, 5, to perceive; pret. indic. 3s. G61; C261.

underhnigan, 1. to undergo; pres. indic. 3s. M139.

underlecgan, W I. to support; inf. C242.

underþeodan, W. I. to devote; pret. indic, 3s. G81;
pres. indic, 2s. C19.

underwreþian, WII. to support; pret. indic. 3s. C37.

uneaþelice, adv. with difficulty; C340.

unfortigende, adj. fearlessly; C161.

unfort, adj. bold; n.s. M55.

ungefullod, adj. unbaptized; n.s. M45.

ungelæred; adj. ignorant; d.p. C120.

ungelimp, n.m. misfortune; g.s. C180.

ungemyndig, adj. unmindful; n.p. C245.

ungesceadwis; adj. irrational; n.s. M107.

ungesewenlic, adj. invisible; n.s. M300.

ungeþwǣr, adj. discordant; d.s. M293; a.s. M281.

ungewǣpnod, adj. unarmed; n.s. M58.

unlybba, f. poison; d.s. M90.

unscæþþig, adj. harmless; C234,238; d.s.

unsiþ, m. misfortune; n.s. C179; d.s. C301.

unsmeþ, adj. unsmooth; d.s. M214.

unþǣslic, adj. unbecoming. g.s. C23.

unþancwurþ, adj. ungrateful; d.s. G175.

untrumnyss, f. infirmity; d.p. G59; n.p. G58.

unwǣr, unwary; d.s. M287.

unweder, n. bad weather;d.s. C65.

unwen, adj. hopeless; d.s. M252.

unwurþ, adj. unworthy ; a.s. M110.

up, adv, up; C396.

up ahafen, adj. uplifted, d.p. M311.

unarǣran, W I. to rear up; pp. G162.

upateon, 2. pret. indic. 3s. to draw up; M247.

upplic, adj. heavenly; d.s. G39.

urbis (latin) g.s. of the city; G2.

ure, poss. pron. 1st person pl. our; G138,140,159,161

urnon, pret. indic. 3p. of irnan, 3. to run; M270.

us, pron. 1st. person; dat. acc. G8,136,139,159; C10.
M299,303,346.

ut, adv. out; C80, M211.

uton, let us (with inf.); G153,155; M346.

wace, adj. weakly; g.s. M131.

wacian, W II. to awake, and watch; pret. indic. 3s. C60; M339.

Wacol, adj. watchful; n.s. G25.

Wacollice, adv. watchfully; G26.

Wac, adj. poor, not of great value; d.p. G52; C275.

wæcce, f. a vigil, sleeplessness; n.p. G57,249.

wæde, n. a garment; n.s. M44.

wædlian, W II. to be poor, needly; pres. indic. 3s. C273.

wædl, f. poverty, want; d.p. C321.

wædlig, adj. poor; d.p. M28.

wælfel, adj. cruel; d.s. G53.

wælhreow, adj. cruel; d.s. M23,53,62; d.p. M144.

wæpen, n. a weapon; a.s. M195.

wæron (see beon) G18,71,74; C139; M15,16,70.

wæs (see beon) G20,25,28,; C11,44,75,88; M3,5,6; wære G76,77,82,88; C48,77,139;M53,103.

wæstm, m,n. fruit; n.s. G223; g.p.222; g.s. C212.

wæstmbære, adj. fruitful; n.s. G206.

wæt, n. water; g.s. C205; g.p. C148.

Walawa, inter. cry of lamentation; G80.

Wand, pret. indic. 3s. of windan, 1, to turn; M195.

Wanhal, adj. infirm; d.p. M130.

Wanian, W II. to diminish; inf.

Wanscryd, adj. ill-clothed; d.p. M28.

Wat, pret. indic. 3s. of witan, pret. pres. to know. G288.

We, personal pron, 1st pers. pl. M84,274,301; us, G13, 20,136; C116.

Wealdend, m. ruler; n.s. C379.

Wealhstod, m. interpreter; a.p. G232; n.s. G234.

wearmhlaf, m. a warm loaf; n.s. C70.

wearb, pret. indic. 3s. of weorban, to become; G112,262; C35,75,106;,M12,17,18.

weg, m. way, path; n.s. C138; d.s. C341.

wel, adv. well; G90; C184,219,315; M33.

weleg, adj. wealthy; d.s. C400; n.s. C321; d.s. M65.

wellybbend, adj. well living; d.p. M124.

wen, f. belief, expectation; n.s. M169.

wendan, W I. to turn, go; pret. indic. 3s. C304; M170,174,259.

weofod, n. altar; a.s. M135,146; d.s. M220.

weorc, n. work,labor; n.s. G102,200; g.s. G162; d.p. M18.

weox, pret. indic. 3s. of weaxan, 7, to increase; C218.

wepan, 7. to weep; inf. C180; part. C27,263,294.

wer, m. man; husband; n.s. C90,179,206; g.p. G229; g.s. C361; d.p. C292.

werlice, adv. manfully; M50.

werod, adj. sweet; n.s. C208.

werod, j. n. host of troops; g.p. M307.

weste,adj. desolate; n.s. C66; d.p. C205.

westen, m. a wilderness; d.s. C66,212,294; M14,290.

wide, adv. widely; M88.

wif, n. woman, wife; n.s. C174,184,186; d.s. C168,177.

will, n. will, pleasure; d.s. G176,181.

willan, to will; anom. v. inf. G17; C302,391.

wilnian, W II. to desire; pres. indic. 3s. C271.

wind, m, wind; g.s. C157; M179,182.

win, n. wine; g.s. M130.

winlic, adj. d.p. like wine; C210.

winter, m. winter; d.s. C11; g.s. C78,30.

wis, adj. wis; n.s. C364.

wisdom, m. wisdom; d.s. C304; g.s. C365.

wislice, adv. wisely; C17.

wist, f. food, provision; d.s. C125,176; a.s. M278.

wita, m. a wise man; d.s. C336; G17;

wite, n. punishment, pain; n.s. G140,215; a.s. M144.

witega, m. prophet; n.s. C276,252.

witegian, W II; to prophesy; pret. indic. 3s. M244.

witegung, f. prophecy; a.s. C298,364; M243.

wiþ, prep. to; M182,114.

wiþ, prep. with; C139m156,311.

wiþcweðan, 5. to refuse; pret. indic. 3s. M112; p. M332.

wiðerian, W II. to be hostile; part. G119.

wiþersaca, m. opponent; d.s. M23.

wiþerwinna, m. adversary; n.s. M78.

wiðfeohtan, W I. to fight against; pret. indic. 3s. M87.

wiþinnan, prep. within; G296; C198.

wiþutan, prep. without; G296.

witniendlic, adj. punishable; g.s. M315.

witodlice, adv. certainly; G166; C28,118; M10,234.

witan, pret. pres. to know; pret. indic 3p. M301.

wlite, m. brightness, beauty; n.s. G73,85.

wlitig, adj. radiant; n.s. G76.

wod, adj. mad. n.s. M262.

woda, m. a madman; n.s. M209.

wodnesdæg, Wednesday; G191.

wodnyss, f. madness; a.c. C169,174; M267.

wolde, pret. indic. 3s. of willan, anom. v. to want, will; G105,245; C13,29,45,91,135; M78,66;

woldon, pret. indic. 3p. of willan; C219,243; M332,334.

wop, m. a cry; a.s. M327; d.s. G157; M108,92.

word, n. word; n.a.s. G235,240,250; d.p. G95,134,211; C16, 42,53; M258,305.

world rica, m. a worldly chief; n.s. M261.

woruld, f. world; a.s. G20; C194,272; M345,325; g.p. C403;M63.

woruldlic, adj. worldly; a.s. G47; d.p. G123; M149.

woruldþing, n. worldly affair; a.s. G37; C73.

wræcsiþ, m. travel in a foreign land; ns. G108.

writan, 1. to write; pret. indic. 3s. M129.

wrecan, W I. to avenge; pres. indic. 3s. G188.

wucu, f. week; d.s. G184.

wuldorfull, adj. glorious; d.s. M302;

wuldorfullice, gloriously, adv. G309

wuldor, n. glory; d.s. G48,G123.

wunderlic, d.p. wonderful. M13.

wuldrian, W II. glorify; pres. indic. 3s. C6.

wulf, wolf; a.p. M300.

wundorlice, adv. wonderfully; C210; M205.

wundor, n. a wonder; g.p. G288; C115,191; M274.

wundorfull, adj. wonderful; d.p. C8.

wundrian, W II. to wonder; part. G257.

wunian, W II. to dwell; pret. indic. 3p. C238. inf. G115; M14. part. C191; M8. pret. indic. 3s. C203,250,365; M64,84,144.

wunung, f. a dwelling; d.s. G246.

wurdon, pret. indic. 3p. of **weorþan**, 3, to become; G257,261; C116,345; M16,296,343; s. G124,133; C176;M58.

wurþ,n, worth, value; d.s. C276.

wurþaþ (see **weorþan**) C401.

weorþmynt, f. honor, ditnity; d.s.s. G297; C21; M135; g.s. G121.

wurðian, W II. to honor; pret. indic. 3p. M26,137; 3s. M142.

wydew, f. a widow; d.s. M148.

wylm, f. a flow, a fervor; d.s. G214.

wyn, f. abundance; d.s. C218; M317.

wymsum, adj. pleasing; d.p. C208.

wynsumnyss, f. blessing; a.s. C205.

wyrm, m. worm; g.s. M252.

wyrs, worse; adj. C168.

wyrþe, adj. worthy; n.s. M117.

ydel, adj. idle; d.p. C19.

yfel, adj. evil; n.s. G149.

yfele, adv. sorely; C47,329; M89.

ylc, adj. same; d.s. C299,326,341; M16,40,119.

yld, f. age; n.s. M129; d.s. M10,47,307.

ylding, g. delay; d.s. G111,145.

ymbe, prep. concerning, about; G27; C119,232; M13,254,328.

ymbrene, m. course of a moving body; d.s. C281.

yrfenuma, m. heir; d.s. G152.

yrmþ, f. poverty, misery; d.p. M28.

yrnan, 3, to run. pret. indic. 3s. C133.

yð, f. wave of the sea; d.s. C97,197.

yttera, adj. outer; a.p. G292.

D.p. 300.
301

iiii. id. martii. S. Gregorii pape urbis rom

Gregorius se halga papa engliscre ðeode apostol o

on þisum 7ƿeardan dæge æft menigfealdū gedeorf

7 halgū gecnyrdnyssū godes rice gesæliglice astah. He

lice engliscre ðeode apostol forðan ðe he ðurh his ræd 7

us fram deofles biggengū ætbræd. 7 to godes geleafan geb

Manega halige bec cyðað his drohtnunge 7 his halige li

historia anglorum ða ðe ælfred cyning of ledene on engl

de. seo boc sprecð genoh sƿutelice be ðisū halgan ƿere.

le ƿe sum þing sceortlice eoƿ be hī gereccan. forþan þe se

sæde boc nis eoƿ eallū cuð. þeah ðe heo on englisc aƿen

Þes eadiga papa Gregorius ƿæs of æþelborenre mægðe. 7

tre acenned. Romanisce ƿitan ƿæron his magas. his fæ

hatte Gordianus. 7 Felix se eaƿfæsta papa ƿæs his fifta

he ƿæs sƿa sƿa ƿe cƿædon for ƿorolde æþelboren. ac he

stah his æþelborennysse mid halgū ðeaƿū. 7 mid godū

cū geglengde. Gregorius is grecisc nama þe sƿegð on la

gereorde. uigilantius. þis on englisc ƿacolre. he ƿæs sƿi

on godes bebodū. þa ða he sylf herigendlice leofode. 7 he

ce ymbe manegra ðeoda ðearfe hogode. 7 hī lifes ƿeg

I

III · ID · NOVEMB · DEPOSITIO SCI MARTINI

MARTINUS se wuldorfulla godes andetere
magum · on ðam earde þe is gehaten pann
cenned in Sabaria · ⁊ he wæs siððan afed on
b is fæder wæs æðelboren · ærest cempa · ⁊ siððan cempe
gende · ⁊ his gemæcca samod; Ða gestryndon hi þon
⁊ he mærlice geðeah; Witodlice ða ða he tyn wyntr
buton his freonda forwearnunge fulluhtes bidde
⁊ on wundorlicum gemete gecyrred · smeagende symbl
on westene wunian mihte; Þa asprang þæs cas
bearn þe for ealdode wæron · wurdon genamod
fæderas on wæpnum; Þa wæs ða martin wrað ðam
ðe on his weorcum andode · ⁊ he wearð þa gelæht ⁊
racenteagum gelæd · þa ða he fyftyne geara wæs
to his ðenungum forð · ðam he sylf ðenode swa
þa casere ærest constantium · ⁊ siððan iuliane
⁊ he on ðam folgoðe ealle wilnysse forbeah · l
ssa modigo wa; He atcopode · ðaroðan lifes
eadmodnysse mid eallum geðylde · ⁊ his efen
H twuss swiðe geswæs eallum sprincenum · ⁊ mil
wædligum ⁊ wanspeðum · ⁊ ma ðeah ða he ce

c

MS G f. 234v

Gregorius se halga papa engliscre
tol. on ðysum andƿeardan dæg
nigfealdum gedeorfum. 7 halgum ge
rum godes rice gesæliglice astah: he i
engliscre þeode apostol. forðan þe he
7 sande. us fram deofles bigengum æ
godes geleafan gebigde; Manega halig
his drohtnunge. 7 his halige lif 7 eac h
rum. þaðe ælfred cyning of ledene on
de. seo boc segð genoh sƿutellice be ði
ƿere; Nu ƿille ƿe sum þing sceortlice
reccan. forðanðe seo foresæde boc n
cuð þeahðe heo on englisc aƿend sy: Þ
es gregorius ƿæs of æðelborenre mæg
ðe acenned: Romanisce ƿitan ƿæron
his fæder hatte gorðianus. 7 felix s
papa ƿæs his fifta fæder: he ƿæs

[illegible] ure ⁊ wuldorfullice þ papan setl gesæt þreotteone gear ⁊ syx monðas ⁊ tyn dagas ⁊ syððan on ðisum dæge gewat to ðam ecan setle heofonan rices: on ðam he leofað mid gode ælmihtigum a on ecnysse

AMEN

[illegible] cuthberhti ep̄i [illegible]

Cuðberhtus se halga biscop scinende on manegum geearnungum ⁊ healicum geðincðum on heofonan rice mid ðam ælmihtigan scyppende on ecere blisse rixiende wuldrað. Beda se snotera engla þeoda lareow þises halgan lyf endebyrdlice mid wuldorfullum herungum ægðer ge [illegible] anfealdre gereccednysse ge [illegible] leoðlicere gyddunge awrat [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] halgan petru. biddende. þ he þam mynstre [illegible]

forþe [illegible] wolde. ⁊ he ða ge[illegible]lice [illegible]

[illegible] eall[illegible] ealdor placide [illegible]

hi spræcon up to ðam muntum ⁊ þær langlice on his gebe-

dū læg. ⁊ mearcode þa stowe ⁊ eode digellice to mynstre ⁊ þa

ða gebroðru siððan þær adelfan ænne gehwædne pytt ⁊

ðær he ær mearcode. cw þ hit ælmihtig god mihte on ðæs

muntes cnolle hi wæt forðlædan ⁊ heora geswincu alihtan.

Ða gebroðru þa eodon be his hæse to ðā muntes clife ⁊ gemet-

ton þone clud þa swætende ⁊ hi þa hwæthwega holedon ⁊ þær

ut þ wæt swa genihtsumlice ut fleow. þ hit arn swa swiðe fram

þā munte ⁊ [illegible] siððan ne geswac his genihtsumnys [illegible]

[illegible]lon ac befeoll on side of ðā mæde into anū deopan [illegible]

Ða eode benedict to. ⁊ wolde gefrefrian þone wyrhtan þe hit

amyrde. ⁊ heold þ hæft innan ðā wætere. ⁊ þ isen [illegible]

[illegible] hit becō swimmende to ðā hæfte. ⁊ se ða wyrhta [illegible]

[illegible] of sceat. Ða wæs sum mæssepreost þær on neawiste wu-

nigende afylled ongean þone halgan wer. his nama wæs

florentius. he wolde habban swilcne hlisan swa benedict

ac he nolde he swa gerisenlice libban; wolde þa hine mid ætre

cwellan. ⁊ asende hī ænne focan [illegible] mid ætre ge-

menged. Ða [illegible] sū [illegible] hwæt inne ge[illegible] þ he [illegible]

lice [illegible] hlaf [illegible] to him [illegible] ⁊ [illegible] his bigleofan

benedicte [illegible]; [illegible] hrem [illegible] þā [illegible] þone ge-

ættrodan hlaf ⁊ bebead him on godes naman þ he þone

[illegible] hlaf aweg bære ⁊ on swilcere stowe awur-

pe þær hine nan man findan ne mihte. Se [illegible]

[illegible] þa [illegible] his hæse [illegible] ⁊ [illegible] ðā hlafe [illegible]

[illegible] geſceapen hæfð ſe ælmihtiga god mid
halgan . ærest on heora life . 7 ſiððan æt heora halgū by
L . on ecnyſſe . amen :—

IIII . ID MARTI . SCI GREGORI

GREGORIUS ſe halga papa . engliſcre ðeode apoſ
menigfealdū gedeorfum . 7 halgū gecnyrdnyſſū : God
ſ rihtlice engliſcre ðeode Apoſtol . forðan ðe
deofleſ biggengum ætbræd . 7 to godeſ geleaf
cyðað hiſ drohtnunge 7 hiſ halige lif . 7 eac hiſt
of ledene on engliſc aƿende . Seo boc ſpræcð genoh ſƿutu
ƿylle ƿe ſum ðing ſceortlice eoƿ be him gereccan . forðan
cuð . þeah ðe heo on engliſc aƿend ſy ; Þeſ eadiga papa
mægðe . 7 eaƿfæſtre acenned ; Romaniſce ƿitan ƿæru
Gordianuſ . 7 felix ſe eaƿfæſta papa ƿæſ hiſ fifta fa
forƿorulde æðelboren . ac he oferſtah hiſ æðelborennyſ
ƿeorcū geglengde ; Gregoriuſ iſ grecyſc nama . Se ſƿegð
þ iſ on engliſc ƿacolre ; He ƿæſ ſƿiðe ƿacol on godeſ be
leofode . 7 he ƿacollice ymbe manegra ðeoda þearfe
H ƿæſ fram cildhade on boclicū larū getyd . 7 he on ða
on ealre Romana byrig næſ nan hiſ gelica geðu
ƿiſra lareoƿa gebyſnungū . 7 næſ forgytol . ac ge
gemynde ; He hlod ða mid þurstigū breoſte ða

Vita

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